AUGUST 5, 2019

TIME

THE FRESHMAN

BY ALANA ABRAMSON

THE FRONT RUNNER

BY PHILIP ELLIOTT

WHOSE PARTY IS IT?

THE ANSWER WILL DETERMINE TRUMP'S FATE

BY MOLLY BALL

SOMETHING BOTH SIDES

CAN AGREE ON:

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VOL. 194, NO. 5 | 2019

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Florets are removed from Notre Dame's pinnacles, so a wooden arch can be installed to support a flying buttress, on July 2

Photograph by Patrick Zachmann—Magnum Photos for TIME

ON THE COVER: *Photo-illustration by Alvaro Dominguez; Mueller, Harris, Sanders, Pelosi, Tlaib, Warren: Getty Images; Biden, Omar, Pressley, Ocasio-Cortez: AP*

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Conversation

WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

THE NEXT SPACE RACE The July 29 cover story by Jeffrey Kluger, about the future of human spaceflight 50 years after the Apollo 11 moon landing, sparked a debate about priorities. On Facebook, Jatinder Singh Narula of Faridabad, India, argued that space exploration is key because "humankind's quest for adventure and exploration of new horizons" has helped civilization develop. But Mohamed Salah of Alexandria, Egypt, said future generations should "care about food, water problems and global warming instead," since "we can't live in the moon." And for Twitter user @Idon6661, the story's takeaway was a warning that if formal rules aren't established, "some multi-national conglomerate will end up owning the Moon." The cover art proved less divisive, as readers like Twitter user Roberta Tommasdottir praised the "beautiful" homage to an image that appeared on the cover in 1968.

> ***'I'm picking up this issue of @TIME right away.'***
>
> **@BRUNOROSACKER**, on Twitter

DYSLEXIA AND LAW People with dyslexia, parents and teachers hailed Belinda Luscombe's July 22 article about parents who have lobbied statehouses for resources for dyslexic students. Glen Kapostas of Ansonia, Conn., said that as someone who recalls being called "stupid" while growing up, he found the story encouraging. Mysta Austin Ward of Missoula, Mont., noted that with support, students with dyslexia can thrive—as demonstrated by her own son's successful career. And Kris Allen in Beulah, Colo., an educator and mother of a daughter with dyslexia who went on to get a Ph.D., said "there is no best method to teach dyslexic kids."

> ***'Parents are the key to making change happen.'***
>
> **JENNIFER BURKHART**, Colorado Springs

BEHIND THE SCENES For this week's feature on the efforts to restore Paris' Notre Dame cathedral after this spring's devastating fire *(page 32)*, Magnum photographer Patrick Zachmann spent six days inside the ravaged building. Zachmann secured privileged access to the cathedral and was one of the first journalists on its damaged roof. At right, he's seen in his uniform for these shoots: head-to-toe equipment to protect him from toxic air and falling debris.

IT'S CURTAIN TIME On TIME.com, go backstage for a behind-the-scenes look at the new Broadway musical adaptation of Baz Luhrmann's *Moulin Rouge!* and watch a fitting with the Tony Award–winning costume designer Catherine Zuber. See the whole interview at **time.com/moulin-rouge-video**

bonus TIME health

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MARCH ON TIME announced on July 18 that actor-producers Viola Davis and Julius Tennon, with their team at JuVee Productions, will join TIME's immersive project *The March* as executive producers. In 2020, the project will bring the March on Washington and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech to life in virtual reality for the first time.

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For the Record

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Maximum award that customers affected by the 2017 Equifax data breach could receive for time and money spent remedying identity fraud, per a settlement announced on July 22

‘I could win that war in a week.’

DONALD TRUMP,
U.S. President, claiming in the Oval Office on July 22 that “Afghanistan would be wiped off the face of the earth” if he pursued his unspecified plan to end the war there

‘I won’t be intimidated. We continue to do our jobs.’

MARIA RESSA,
editor of the news site Rappler and a 2018 TIME Person of the Year, ahead of a July 23 hearing opening the libel trial she faces in the Philippines; human-rights organizations have condemned the case as politically motivated

NADLER:

‘DID YOU ACTUALLY TOTALLY EXONERATE THE PRESIDENT?’

MUELLER:

‘NO.’

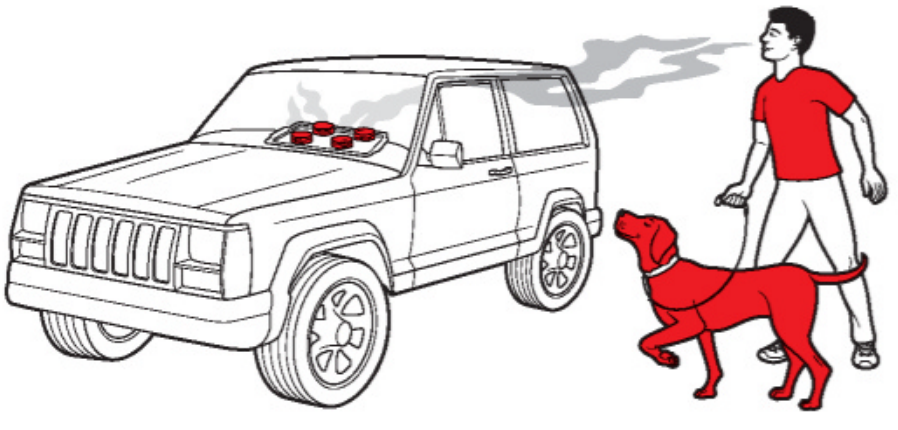
CHAIR OF THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, NEW YORK DEMOCRAT JERRY NADLER, AND FORMER SPECIAL COUNSEL ROBERT MUELLER,
at a July 24 hearing on the investigation into on Russian interference in the 2016 U.S. presidential election

‘This monument is to acknowledge that we know what is happening and what needs to be done. Only you know if we did it.’

A LETTER TO THE FUTURE,
on a plaque set to be installed on Aug. 18 at the site of the former Okjokull glacier, as part of a memorial to “the first Icelandic glacier to lose its status as a glacier” due to climate change

185°F

Peak temperature reached by a pan of biscuits left in a car in Valley, Neb., on July 18, as part of a National Weather Service experiment to raise awareness about the dangers of leaving children and pets in cars



‘This is a tremendous victory but not a complete one.’

JOAQUÍN CARCAÑO,
the lead plaintiff in a lawsuit challenging the 2016 North Carolina “bathroom bill,” after a judge on July 23 approved a settlement that protects the right of trans people to access public restrooms

100

Number of pairs of rare sneakers bought by Canadian entrepreneur Miles Nadal, from Sotheby’s on July 17 and 23; the $437,500 he bid on 1972 Nike Waffle Racing Flat “Moon Shoes” set a new world auction record for sneakers

Subway
A computer failure halted seven NYC train lines for over an hour on July 19

Submarine
France announced the lost submarine *Minerve* has been found after 51 years

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: AFP; CNN; KANSAS CITY STAR; SPECTRUM NEWS NY1; RICE UNIVERSITY

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The Brief

BLAZE OF TORY
Boris Johnson, seen campaigning in London on July 11, will take on Brexit as the U.K.'s new Prime Minister

INSIDE

A NEW LEVEL OF VIOLENCE IN HONG KONG PROTESTS

THE 'NEW NORMAL' FOR HEAT WAVES

ROBERT MORGENTHAU'S LEGACY OF JUSTICE

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW PARSONS

WORLD

Johnson gets keys to Brexit Britain

By Billy Perrigo

EXACTLY A WEEK BEFORE BORIS JOHNSON became Prime Minister of the U.K., he stood on a stage in London waving a smoked fish above his head.

"I want you to consider this kipper," Johnson told his crowd. British manufacturers of the traditional breakfast treat were having their postage costs unfairly pushed up by E.U. regulations, he said. After Brexit, such red tape would be a thing of the past. "We will," he said, "get our mojo back."

It was classic Boris, as he is widely known—soaring rhetoric on a patriotic theme, delivered with an attention-grabbing stunt. That the rules governing kipper shipments are in fact set by the U.K., not the E.U., was also characteristic, given Johnson's long history of putting compelling narratives ahead of facts.

After years of his cultivating an aura of buffoonery, Johnson's campaign to become leader of the Conservative Party was by contrast a slick operation, built on a narrative of Brexit "betrayal" overcome by sunny optimism. If the country just believed in itself a little more, his story went, things would all work out. The Conservative Party voters who decided the contest were won over, and on July 24 the new Prime Minister took office. "The doubters, the doomsters, the gloomsters, they are going to get it wrong again," he said on the steps of 10 Downing Street.

Now, the man who helped swing the 2016 Brexit referendum has to deliver on its promise. The U.K. is scheduled to leave the E.U. on Oct. 31, a date that Johnson has pledged to stick to, "do or die." And unless his government can seal a new deal with E.U. leaders, the country will crash out of the bloc with no arrangements for continued trade and regulatory alignment. His predecessor Theresa May's Brexit deal, which was roundly rejected by lawmakers, took two years to negotiate. Johnson has three months.

JOHNSON IS WHAT BRITS might call a "Marmite" politician, someone people either love or hate. While he is adored by Conservative members, a July 23 poll found 58% of Brits have a negative view of him, built up over his years in the spotlight.

Alexander Boris de Pfeffel Johnson began his career in 1989 as a journalist in Brussels, reporting on the E.U. headquarters for the *Daily Telegraph* newspaper. Contemporaries recall dispatches featuring absurd details about E.U. functionaries regulating the shape of bananas, the kind of rhetoric that some say laid the foundation for Brexit. "It made people laugh," says Michael Binyon, who was then the *Times* of London's Brussels correspondent, "but helped create a climate of hostility toward 'Brussels bureaucrats.'"

Johnson moved from journalism into politics, but it was not until 2008, when he was elected mayor of London, that he got a taste of power. He was a popular cheerleader for the capital, but observers say he showed a lack of attention to detail when it came to actually governing. "Boris was so confident of his own image, he didn't mind other people doing all the policy," says Tony Travers, a professor of politics at the London School of Economics. After two terms as mayor, Johnson returned to Parliament in 2016 just as the Brexit referendum approached. Unable to decide which side to support, he wrote two versions of his newspaper column setting out his arguments, one for Remain, the other for Leave. He picked the latter, setting him on the path to his position today.

Until he resigned from May's government in July 2018 over her Brexit policy, Johnson held the position of Foreign Secretary, and some of those who worked with him then say they hope they will see an improvement now that he's in the top job. "There will be a lot of focus on whether he can back up the rhetoric," says one senior diplomat. "We saw a lot of energy and panache in the Foreign Office. But also a very short attention span. If he's going to be a successful Prime Minister, he will need to step up to a new level."

He will have to do it fast. Johnson insists he would prefer to leave the E.U. with an agreement, but also says Britain must be prepared to leave with "no deal" on Halloween. In that scenario, the U.K.'s Office for Budget Responsibility predicts, the country would enter an economic recession, with GDP shrinking 2% by the end of 2020.

Johnson also faces a challenge in Parliament, where no party currently has an overall majority. His ruling Conservative Party is divided on how to pursue Brexit, and lawmakers have threatened to vote to bring down his government if he pursues "no deal," likely triggering a general election. With Conservative support polling at just 25% nationally, there's a chance he could end up as the shortest-serving British Prime Minister in history.

That is not how Johnson, a fervent admirer of wartime leader Winston Churchill, would want to be remembered. "He thinks of himself in Churchillian terms," Binyon says. "He likes the idea of coming to the rescue in Britain's darkest hour. But it's going to be very difficult. Not only does he have to bring the party together, but then the country. And he's got to do so in a way that won't take us straight down the drain." ◻

JOHNSON'S CALENDAR

Sept. 3
The day Parliament returns from vacation and Johnson has to face lawmakers for the first time

Oct. 31
The deadline for Brexit, "do or die"

Nov. 20
The date until which Johnson needs to stay in office to avoid becoming the shortest-lived Prime Minister in U.K. history

PREVIOUS PAGE: I-IMAGES/POLARIS; OPPOSITE PAGE: JOSE LUIS GONZALEZ—REUTERS

HOLD ON Guatemalan migrant Lety Perez embraces her son Anthony while appealing to members of Mexico's National Guard to let them cross into the U.S. from Ciudad Juárez on July 22—the day Mexico said the number of migrants arrested daily near the U.S. border had been cut by 36% from the average about a month earlier. Under pressure from the Trump Administration, Mexico has boosted deportations and deployed some 21,000 members of its security forces to police its borders.

THE BULLETIN

A violent turn in Hong Kong protests marks a dangerous new phase

MORE THAN SIX WEEKS AFTER THEY began, protests in Hong Kong show no sign of easing up. Sparked by a proposed extradition bill that would allow suspected criminals to be sent to face trial under China's opaque legal system, the protests took a darker turn on July 19, when police seized a cache of explosives and weapons at a warehouse and arrested three men allegedly linked to the protest movement. Two days later, a group of masked men attacked civilians at a train station, injuring dozens.

FAULT LINES The city has become increasingly polarized, as protesters say Beijing is eroding the autonomy Hong Kong maintains under the "one country, two systems" model. Hong Kong's Beijing-appointed leader, Carrie Lam, has declared the extradition bill "dead" but has not officially withdrawn it. On July 21, protesters clashed with police, who fired tear gas and rubber bullets at them. Some surrounded the Chinese government's office, hurling eggs and spray-painting obscenities on its walls.

MARAUDING MOBS That same night, police were nowhere to be seen when men armed with wooden sticks stormed a train station near the Chinese border and terrorized commuters. Believed to be members of Hong Kong's "triad" gangs, they indiscriminately attacked pro-democracy protesters, journalists and bystanders in the most brutal protest-related incident to date. Over a two-hour period, at least 45 people were injured. Authorities were accused of doing little to stop the attack but have since arrested several men, some with links to triad gangs.

STALEMATE The path out of the standoff remains unclear. Lam expressed "regret" over the July 21 attacks but did not offer concessions that might calm an outraged public. More protests are planned in the days and weeks to come. If violence becomes more common, Beijing may be more likely to step in to quell the protests, which have turned into a revolt against its hold over the region. But for now, it looks set to be a long summer of rebellion in Hong Kong. —AMY GUNIA

NEWS TICKER

Ukraine leader shores up power

Servant of the People, the political party of Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky—elected in April after becoming famous for playing a President on TV—comfortably won parliamentary elections on July 21, setting the stage for it to become **the first party to secure a majority there since the fall of communism.**

Big Tech under antitrust review by DOJ

The Department of Justice announced on July 23 that it is opening a **broad antitrust review of large tech companies.** The DOJ did not mention specific companies but said the inquiry would look into concerns about "search, social media and some retail services online."

Iran detains U.K.-flagged tanker

On July 19, **Iran seized a British-flagged oil tanker in the Strait of Hormuz**—the latest in a series of incidents in the Persian Gulf. Amid worsening relations between Tehran and Western powers, the U.K. called on July 22 for a European naval mission to protect vessels in the strait, through which about a fifth of the world oil's passes.

NEWS TICKER

Fast-track deportations expanded

The Trump Administration announced on July 22 that it will allow immigration officers to deport migrants who have been in the country illegally for up to two years, **without first giving them a hearing before a judge.** Such fast-track deportations were previously limited to those arrested soon after crossing the border.

Officials probe Kyoto anime studio fire

Japanese authorities are investigating a **suspected arson attack targeting employees at Kyoto Animation,** a renowned studio in the city, on July 18. The blaze killed at least 34 people—the country's worst mass killing in decades. Police have identified a suspect.

Former EPA official faces investigation

The Environmental Protection Agency's inspector general has launched an ethics inquiry into whether former air-quality chief William Wehrum's efforts to weaken emissions standards **improperly benefited former clients** he'd worked with as a fossil-fuel industry lawyer and lobbyist. Wehrum resigned from the EPA in June.

GOOD QUESTION

Is this summer's intense heat caused by climate change?

AS MILLIONS OF PEOPLE RECOVER FROM SWELTERing heat waves across the U.S. Midwest and East Coast, and with Europe facing a fresh round of high temperatures, this July is predicted to be the globe's hottest on record. That comes on the heels of the hottest June. Heat waves aren't new and weather isn't the same as climate, but scientists say such extremes are expected to become more frequent—and that the pattern is the result of human-caused climate change.

"Our climate is warming," Ahira Sánchez-Lugo, a climatologist at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, tells TIME. "We have a new normal, we are in a new warmer climate. Just in the 21st century, we've set a new global world temperature record five times."

Global temperatures are going up—and heat waves are getting more frequent—largely due to the greenhouse effect, in which rising levels of gases like carbon dioxide trap heat from the sun in the earth's atmosphere. That effect is likely to intensify as the polar ice caps melt, since white ice reflects heat away from the earth better than dark water does. In Antarctica, sea-ice coverage in June was 8.5% below the 1981–2010 average, and in the Arctic it was 10.5% below.

The impact will be felt far beyond the poles. One study published by the journal *Environmental Research Communications* predicts Gulf Coast states will see more than 120 days a year that feel like 100°F by the end of the century. Sánchez-Lugo says we've already seen examples of climate change–linked extreme weather affecting parts of the U.S.—for example, June's above-average rainfall in parts of the Midwest. Robert Rohde, lead scientist at Berkeley Earth, says this trend can be directly attributed to human emissions of greenhouse gases, and that it "will continue until humans find a way to change their behavior and stop modifying the atmosphere."

The world is working on it, though not with the level of urgency and cooperation that scientists would hope to see: while more than 180 countries have ratified the Paris Agreement to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions, the U.S.—the second biggest emitter, after China—announced its intention to withdraw from the agreement in 2017.

"You have to get every country in the world to do it, and you have to get every part of the economy interested," says Piers Forster, professor of climate physics at the Priestley International Centre for Climate at the University of Leeds. "So that's where the challenge is, but I would say that humanity always rises to these challenges, so I'm personally quite optimistic."

—JASMINE AGUILERA

Esper, left, is sworn in as Secretary on July 23; his wife Leah holds the Bible

CONFIRMED

Mark Esper

Defense Secretary

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN nearly seven months, the Defense Department has a Senate-confirmed Secretary of Defense, thus ending the longest period in the nation's history that the Pentagon has gone without one.

Mark Esper received overwhelming bipartisan support in the Senate with a 90-8 vote on July 23. Esper, 55, has political and military experience—including more than a decade in the Army, time working on national-security issues for Republican lawmakers on Capitol Hill and a period lobbying for one of the world's largest arms manufacturers. He also previously served as Army Secretary since late 2017.

His confirmation capped a rocky 204-day period in which the Defense Department went through three Acting Defense Secretaries following James Mattis' departure. Business continued at the Pentagon, but without an authoritative voice at the top. That vacuum has now been filled, but more than a dozen key agencies remained without a permanent chief at the time of Esper's confirmation.

—W.J. HENNIGAN

ESPER: CAROLYN KASTER—AP; MORGENTHAU: KARJEAN LEVINE—GETTY IMAGES; NEVILLE: ERIKA GOLDRING—GETTY IMAGES

DIED

Art Neville

Papa Funk

By Irma Thomas

BEFORE THE NEVILLE Brothers became a group, Art Neville had his own little group called the Hawketts. This was back in the 1950s, and I was basically just getting started. Artists like me, who didn't have their own bands, would work with various groups around New Orleans. Wherever we had gigs where the Hawketts were the backup band, Art—who died on July 22 at 81—was always the guy who wanted to get it right. They were a very popular local group in Louisiana, and over the years I watched him grow.

He led a group of musicians that everybody wanted to be. His music—with the Neville Brothers, the Meters, the Hawketts—has been sampled and copied by many. It was funky; that's why they called him Papa Funk. I can explain it a thousand times, but unless you get what funk is, you won't understand. It's a real good-feeling type of music that makes you want to move and dance.

And there is no music called soul or funk that Art Neville and his brothers didn't contribute to in some way.

Thomas is a Grammy Award–winning singer

Morgenthau, the longest-serving Manhattan district attorney, poses for a portrait in a New York City courtroom on April 26, 2000

DIED

Robert Morgenthau

Justice seeker

By Preet Bharara

LIVING LEGENDS ARE RARE BIRDS, BUT ROBERT MORGENTHAU richly deserved the moniker. Though the prosecutor ascribed his success to "luck and longevity," there was more to it. He had grit, courage, intellect and an overflowing commitment to public service, first as a Navy hero, then as U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York, and finally as Manhattan's longest-serving district attorney, from 1975 to 2009. Generations of lawyers he mentored—and bested—mourn his death, on July 21 at age 99.

During World War II, Morgenthau survived both a Nazi torpedo and a Japanese kamikaze, before blazing a trail as the country's most formidable prosecutor. He went after mobsters, murderers and fraudsters with equal gusto; no one case could capture the extraordinary oeuvre of this gentleman prosecutor, who even in his off-hours performed service, whether as chairman of the board of the Police Athletic League or of New York City's Museum of Jewish Heritage.

Morgenthau did not succeed at all things. He struggled with retail politics, decisively losing two bids to be governor of New York—but that is perhaps to his credit. He was a stridently independent justice seeker who pursued truth not popularity, did it without fear or favor, and fully earned his celebrated status.

Bharara, a former U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York, is the author of *Doing Justice*

WON

Japanese national elections on July 21 by **Shinzo Abe's party,** all but ensuring he'll become the country's longest-serving PM.

DENIED

Jeffrey Epstein's bail request by U.S. District Judge Richard Berman on July 18. Epstein will remain in jail to await trial on sex-trafficking charges, to which he pleaded not guilty.

DIED

Rutger Hauer, who played the memorable villain in 1982's *Blade Runner,* at 75 on July 19.

Li Peng, former Chinese Premier, known as the "Butcher of Beijing" for his role in the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown, on July 22 at 90.

Chris Kraft, who founded NASA's mission control and directed the Apollo 11 lunar landing, on July 22 at 95.

INDUCTED

Tennis player **Li Na** into the International Tennis Hall of Fame on July 20. She is the first Asia-born player to achieve that recognition.

FINED

Facebook for $5 billion, as part of a settlement with the Federal Trade Commission over privacy violations.

Iceland's Prime Minister **Katrin Jakobsdottir** walks the talk, even on ice cream runs

By Ciara Nugent

MANY CULTURES HAVE NATIVE WORDS FOR unique experiences. In Spain, families and friends sitting around after finishing a meal are having a *sobremesa*. Germans enjoying the solitude of being alone in the woods experience *Waldeinsamkeit*. In Iceland one such word is *isbiltur,* which describes a road trip to get ice cream, a hallowed family tradition on the island nation.

So when Icelandic Prime Minister Katrin Jakobsdottir visited London recently, she was persuaded to join TIME for a quick *isbiltur*—a short drive from her country's modernist embassy in upmarket Knightsbridge to an Icelandic ice cream shop on the west side of town. "You know, I think ice cream walks may be more common today than drives," she says as the town car crawls through London traffic, noting that her family prefers to go on foot to sample one of the many ice cream parlors in the capital, Reykjavik. "We are very conscious of being green."

The progressive update is true to form for Jakobsdottir, at 43 the youngest woman to lead a European country. Iceland may be small, with just 350,000 people, but it's home to big ideas that are turning the heads of international policymakers. Iceland is already ranked the best country in which to be a woman by the World Economic Forum, and Jakobsdottir's government is rolling out the world's toughest equal-pay legislation.

One of the only government heads from an environmentalist party, Jakobsdottir wants to make the country a leader in climate action too, with an ambitious plan to make Iceland carbon neutral by 2040, 10 years before the target set for Iceland's neighbors in the E.U. "It can be an advantage to be small," she says. "You can do things bigger and faster. You can actually change everything in a very short time."

It's a tough time to be a politician in Iceland. Traditional parties have seen their vote share tumble since the banking crisis of 2008, and the three men who served as Prime Minister in the four years before Jakobsdottir were each driven from office early by poor performance or scandals.

As leader of the small, liberal Left-Green Party since 2013, Jakobsdottir manages to be an exception. "People see her as an honest broker, someone who just says what she means," says Stefania Oskarsdottir, a professor of politics at the University of Iceland. The likability factor is on show as Jakobsdottir arrives at Bears, a family-run ice cream parlor. She chats in Icelandic to the owners' young daughter and pores excitedly over their stash of chocolate-covered licorice, a national staple that she demands TIME try.

Voted Iceland's most trusted politician in 2016, Jakobsdottir was perhaps the natural choice to lead the coalition government the Left-Greens formed with two center-right rivals in 2017. But she is in a fragile position. Her government has a majority of just one seat, and the economic fallout of the collapse in March of Iceland's budget airline WOW Air could make it hard to hold the coalition together.

But Jakobsdottir is not afraid of a challenge. "My problem in my life—and also my fortune—is to always say yes," she says between bites of Icelandic ice cream. "When people ask me to do interesting things I tend to do them." In 1996, at 20, she appeared in a music video for an Icelandic indie band, running through the streets of Reykjavik. Following her "15 seconds of fame," Jakobsdottir studied literature and entered politics after getting involved in activism. She recalls lying in the street outside the Prime Minister's office to protest Icelandic support for the Iraq War in 2003.

Now working inside the building, Jakobsdottir remains not quite satisfied with the state of her country. Even with policies like a ban on sexist advertising and a mandatory balance of men and women on company boards, she rolls her eyes at the suggestion that Iceland is a feminist utopia. "If it was this paradise for gender equality, I would be the 13th woman Prime Minister and not the second. We obviously have a long way ahead." She is particularly frustrated by the persistence of domestic violence in Iceland—experienced by 1 in 5 women—and sexual harassment.

Still, other countries see Iceland as an example. Portugal, Germany and the Nordic nations are considering re-creating its equal-pay legislation—the first in the world to enforce equal pay by penalizing companies that can't prove via audits they're paying men and women the same salary for the same work.

But the gap in Iceland will be hard to bridge; in 2018, men were still paid an average of 22% more than women. The Prime Minister says she knows "very well" how difficult women find it to demand more money, when they may not even know what colleagues are making. Telling women they just have to ask for more is "not the solution," Jakobsdottir says. "You can't place all responsibility for a structural change on the individual."

A single piece of legislation will not end workplace inequality either, she adds. "Realistically, it has to be a generational change. The most important things we've done for equality is to make it possible not to have to choose between having a career and having children or a family." Iceland, which since 2000 has offered both mothers and fathers

JAKOBSDOTTIR QUICK FACTS

Taking a stand
On Oct. 24, Jakobsdottir went on strike from Parliament, joining a nationwide demonstration against pay inequality.

Criminal-minded
In her pre-politics career in academia, Jakobsdottir specialized in crime fiction, writing her master's thesis on a popular Icelandic crime writer.

Footie
The Icelandic Prime Minister is a devoted supporter of the U.K.'s Liverpool Football Club.

OLIVIA HARRIS FOR TIME

generous paid parental leave, has one of the highest rates of female labor-force participation in Europe. "It's not often that legislation actually changes people's values. But this did."

ON JAKOBSDOTTIR'S OTHER political priority, though, Iceland doesn't have time for a generational change. Climate change has already had visible effects on the country. Scientists say it is losing more than 15 sq. mi. of its glaciers each year. Fishing, which contributes around 30% of exports, is also under threat from ocean acidification. "We need action, now, and we're actually setting out how we're going to fulfill our goals," Jakobsdottir says.

In September, she launched a fully funded 34-step plan to cut emissions by 40% by 2030 and achieve carbon neutrality by 2040. Iceland has a head start over other countries, as geothermal resources already provide most electricity and heating. Now the government is targeting transport "with very tangible projects," the Prime Minister says, like banning fossil-fuel cars after 2030.

There's a tension, though, between her vision for Iceland's climate leadership and the country's growing dependency on aviation. The recent explosion in tourism has seen flight numbers surge, and emissions from aviation grew by more than 13% between 2016 and 2017. "Obviously, we haven't found renewable solutions to that," she admits.

'It can be an advantage to be small. You can do things bigger and faster.'

KATRIN JAKOBSDOTTIR, Prime Minister of Iceland

But the growing urgency around climate action makes her optimistic, she adds. The onetime demonstrator "can't help but sympathize" with increasingly restive climate activists, like the Icelandic schoolchildren who have been striking weekly since February, inspired by Swedish activist Greta Thunberg. "I consider it support for us politicians who want to do something about it."

By the time Thunberg's generation is running the world, Jakobsdottir will likely be doing something else. As she finishes up her ice cream, she says she's contemplating a return to the literary world. "Politics gives you an exceptional insight into human interaction. And you find yourself in the strangest circumstances," she says. "You know, I think I'd like to write a play." If life so far is anything to go by, she'll have plenty of material. ◻

WE ALL HAVE THE POWER

Pearl, childhood cancer survivor; and Arnold, leukemia survivor.

TO STAND UP TO CANCER

Lori, breast cancer survivor.

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Pictured: Heroes from Marvel Studios' *Avengers: Endgame*.
Survivor photos by Kevin Lynch.

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TheView

U.S.

PUERTO RICO'S MOMENT FOR CHANGE

By Luis A. Miranda Jr.

When I flew to Puerto Rico in 2017 and looked out at the damage caused by Hurricane Maria, I realized that the island on which I was born and raised would never be the same. The landscapes and topographies I knew so well were gone. I was confident that the island would recover, but I also knew that what would emerge would be something different. I just didn't know how different. Now I know.

On July 10, we woke up to the news that two prominent former cabinet members of Governor Ricardo Rosselló's government had been arrested by the FBI for allegedly funneling over $15 million in contracts to business friends. Three days later, at least 889 pages of private chat transcripts between the governor and more than 10 others—government officials and political friends—were released. Those chats, riddled with insults, mockery, misogyny and homophobia, laid bare something that went beyond corruption. It showed a man, a scion of privilege, belittling the people he swore to serve. We saw a government that wasn't just venal but also contemptuous.

Puerto Ricans are a remarkably tolerant and understanding people. Yet in the weeks since the arrests and the revelations of the chats, Puerto Ricans are finally tired of the lies and manipulation. Everyone is demanding accountability.

Collective shame and anger is propelling people to action—and they have taken to the streets by the hundreds of thousands. It's tempting to see the protests as simply a repudiation of an unpopular governor, but while Rosselló may have sparked this uprising, the conditions were set long before him. Decades of bipartisan mismanagement and corruption, unscrupulous financial schemes hatched on Wall Street and purposeful neglect by the U.S. Congress crippled the island well before Hurricane Maria. On the eve of what would have been the island's largest financial default, my family and others supported efforts by President Obama to shelter Puerto Rico from bankruptcy with congressional action. Even this effort has proved to be deeply flawed. Instead of dealing with the island's more than $73 billion debt, the new law implemented devastating austerity measures that have left the most vulnerable Puerto Ricans without hope.

Governor Rosselló at a press conference on his administration's scandal on July 16

GOVERNOR ROSSELLÓ TRIED to stem the tide of popular unrest by announcing that he would not run for re-election in 2020. One look at the Puerto Ricans who took to the streets should have disabused him of any notion that he had the legitimacy to represent anyone on the island now or ever. What Puerto Ricans need is his immediate resignation.

President Trump, a pathological liar with a history of denigrating Puerto Rico, has been using the crisis to further his claim that the island is irredeemably corrupt and ungovernable. He is holding hostage billions of dollars in needed federal recovery assistance and would have been less likely to release funds with Rosselló still in power. Puerto Rico could not suffer a lame-duck governor while the island's economy teeters on the edge.

Nearly 60 years ago, the American writer and critic Alfred Kazin referred to Puerto Ricans as "lamblike." Kazin was wrong. He misread our generosity of spirit as a weakness. Governor Rosselló made the same mistake. Every administration has had its share of scandals. But after the destruction of Hurricane Maria—when the average Puerto Rican had to wait in long lines for essentials like gas, food and water, and FEMA kept denying their applications for help, and then when President Trump visited the island to throw rolls of paper towels to them—people have no patience for crooks anymore.

What was in the governor's head? He must have realized the damage he was causing to the island. I dealt with him several times as we worked hard to attract tourism, to remake the coffee industry and to drive initiatives after Hurricane Maria. How could he pick political partners who would make fun of Hurricane Maria's dead for a cheap laugh or to punish a political opponent? The people of Puerto Rico know they deserve better. They have raised their voices. Their collective power has unseated corruption.

Something in Puerto Rico has changed forever. For those of us who migrated to New York or Spain or anywhere in the world, our job is to take the lead from our family in Puerto Rico. It is our responsibility to make sure that this change results in a more resilient and prosperous Puerto Rico.

Miranda is a founding partner of the MirRam Group and the founding president of the Hispanic Federation

SHORT READS

Highlights from stories on **time.com/ideas**

Connecting with kids

There's a common misconception that if you don't want children, you must not like them. But according to Amy Blackstone, author of *Childfree by Choice,* most people who decide not to become parents still have important relationships with kids. **"We hear proclamations all the time that it takes a village to raise a child, and child-free people too are an important part of that village."**

Boosting your brainpower

Researchers have suggested that learning a foreign language could help delay the onset of dementia. Looking at studies of bilingual people, **Richard Roberts and Roger J. Kreuz, co-authors of *Becoming Fluent,* found that it's "not a magical cure-all" but may still be beneficial.**

The comeback King

Elvis Presley hadn't performed live in over eight years when he took the stage in Las Vegas in 1969. In an excerpt from his book *Elvis in Vegas,* Richard Zoglin reveals how one show turned Presley's career around. **"I never saw anything like it in my life,"** said singer-songwriter Mac Davis.

CARLOS GIUSTI—AP

BIG NEWS: FAST PAIN RELIEF IS NOW MIGHTY SMALL

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The View

Protesters demanding Governor Ricardo Rosselló's resignation amassed on July 17 in San Juan as the hashtag #RICKYRENUNCIA gained traction on social networks

PHOTOGRAPH BY
CHRISTOPHER GREGORY
FOR TIME

Clockwise from top left: Kamala Harris, Bernie Sanders, Ayanna Pressley, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Rashida Tlaib, Ilhan Omar, Elizabeth Warren, Joe Biden, Nancy Pelosi

STRIFE OF THE PARTY

The Democrats' debate will shape America's future

BY MOLLY BALL

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION BY ALVARO DOMINGUEZ FOR TIME

They are both Democrats: Joe Biden, the 76-year-old former Vice President, and Ilhan Omar, the 36-year-old freshman Congresswoman. An old white man, with blind spots on race and gender and a penchant for bipartisanship; a young Somali-American Muslim who sees compromise as complicity. To Biden, Donald Trump is an aberration; to Omar, he is a symptom of a deeper rot. One argues for a return to normality, while the other insists: Your normal has always been my oppression.

How to fit those two visions into one party is the question tying the Democrats in knots. What policies will the party champion? Which voters will it court? How will it speak to an angry and divided nation? While intraparty tussles are perennial in politics, this one comes against a unique backdrop: an unpopular, mendacious, norm-trampling President. As Democrats grilled Robert Mueller, the former special counsel, on July 24, their sense of urgency was evident.

The one thing Democrats agree on is that Trump needs to go, but even on the question of how to oust him, they are split. Ninety-five of the party's 235 House Representatives recently voted to begin impeachment proceedings, a measure nearly a dozen of the major Democratic presidential candidates support. The party's leadership continues to insist that defeating the President in 2020 is the better path. Half the party seems furious at Speaker Nancy Pelosi for not attacking Trump more forcefully, while the other is petrified they're losing the American mainstream, validating Trump's "witch hunt" accusations with investigations into Russian election interference that most voters see as irrelevant to their daily lives.

These divisions have come into focus in recent weeks. Two parallel conflicts—the fight among congressional Democrats, and debates among the 2020 candidates—have played out along similar lines, revealing deep fissures on policy, tactics and identity. A consistent majority of voters disapprove of the President's performance, do not want him re-elected and dislike his policies and character. Even Trump's allies admit his re-election hopes rest on his ability to make the alternative even more distasteful.

But for an opposition party, it's never as simple as pointing out the failures of those in power. As desperate as Democrats are to defeat Trump, voters demand an alternative vision. "You will not win an election telling everybody how bad Donald Trump is," former Senate majority leader Harry Reid tells TIME. "They have to run on what they're going to do."

The Democrats' crossroads is also America's. As Trump leans into themes of division, with racist appeals, detention camps for migrants and an exclusionary vision of national identity, the 2020 election is shaping up as a referendum on what the country's citizens want it to become. This is not who we are as a nation, Trump's opponents are fond of saying. But if not, what should we be instead?

"THAT LITTLE GIRL was me." With this five-word statement at the Democrats' June 27 debate in Miami, Senator Kamala Harris did not just strike a blow against Biden. She showed where the party's most sensitive sore spots lie.

Harris explained that she had been bused to her Berkeley, Calif., public school as part of an integration plan; Biden, as a Delaware Senator, had worked to stop the federal government from forcing busing on school districts that resisted integration. On the campaign trail this year, Biden had boasted about being able to work with political opponents, citing his chumminess with Senators who were racists and segregationists. "It was hurtful," Harris said, "to hear you talk about the reputations of two United States Senators who built their reputations and career on the segregation of race in this country."

It was a powerful appeal, drawn from the personal experience of a woman of color whose life's course was altered by the public-policy choices made in the halls of power. What was exposed wasn't so much a real policy difference—after the debate, Harris took essentially the same position as Biden against mandatory busing in today's still segregated schools—but a dispute about perspective. Biden, clearly ruffled, became defensive and eventually gave up, cutting himself off midsentence: "My time is up." Biden remains the front runner, but the line had the ring of a campaign epitaph.

Presidential primaries are always the battleground for political parties' competing factions, and some of the debates Democrats are enmeshed in now are ones they've been having for decades. Swing to the left, or tack to the middle? Galvanize the base, or cultivate the center? Tear down the system, or work to improve it? These familiar questions are now shadowed by the specter of Trump and his movement. If Americans are to reject Trumpist nationalism and white identity politics, what's their alternative?

With two dozen presidential candidates and the race only just begun, the majority of Democratic voters say they are undecided. But a top tier of five candidates has emerged as the focus of voters' attention: Biden, Senator Bernie Sanders, Senator Elizabeth Warren, Harris and South Bend, Ind., Mayor Pete Buttigieg. At the moment, it is Warren and

Harris who appear on an upward trajectory, while the three male candidates trend downward.

Biden's pitch to voters is moderation, electability and a callback to the halcyon days of the Obama Administration. Sanders seeks to expand the fiery leftist movement he built in 2016. Warren has staked her campaign on wonkishness and economic populism, while Harris paints herself as a crusader for justice. Buttigieg offers a combination of generational change and executive experience. To imagine each of them in the White House is to conjure five very different hypothetical presidencies come January 2021.

ON CAPITOL HILL, the party has been spread along a similar axis of race, power, perspective and privilege. To address the humanitarian crisis on the southern border, Pelosi pushed a compromise bill this summer that sought to fund migrant detention while protecting the rights of asylum seekers. She was opposed by members of the so-called Squad—a quartet of outspoken freshman Representatives who have become champions of the party's rising left wing: Omar, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of New York, Ayanna Pressley of Massachusetts and Rashida Tlaib of Michigan. All women of color, all 45 or under, all adept with a Twitter zinger and prone to inflammatory statements, they seek to build a movement and shake up the party—a markedly different theory of change from Pelosi's dogged insistence on vote counting and the art of the possible.

As desperate as Democrats are to defeat Trump, voters demand an alternative vision

The inevitable squabble ensued, complete with Twitter clapbacks and accusations of racism. Naturally, Trump—not content to let Democrats tear one another apart on their own—waded into the fray. He singled out the four women, implied that their American citizenship was not equal to that of others and declared that the Squad should "go back" to the countries of their ancestors rather than criticize.

The ugly sight of a President luxuriating in "send her back" chants laid down a marker for 2020. As much as traditional Republicans might like the President to campaign on a healthy economy, a tax cut that put more money in the pocket of two-thirds of Americans and a slate of new conservative federal judges, Trump plans instead to plunge even further into fear and division. And as much as Democrats might like to talk about health care, climate change and the minimum wage, their candidate will inevitably be dragged into his sucking morass of conspiracy mongering and tribalism.

For a moment, the controversy unified the bickering House Democrats, who passed a resolution condemning Trump's comments. But behind the scenes, Democrats' reactions to the spectacle were a test for the electoral theories of their feuding factions. Progressives (and many Republicans) argued that Trump was only making himself more toxic to swing voters. But some in the Democratic establishment fretted that Trump's repellent statements were a political masterstroke, elevating four fringe figures as the face of the party.

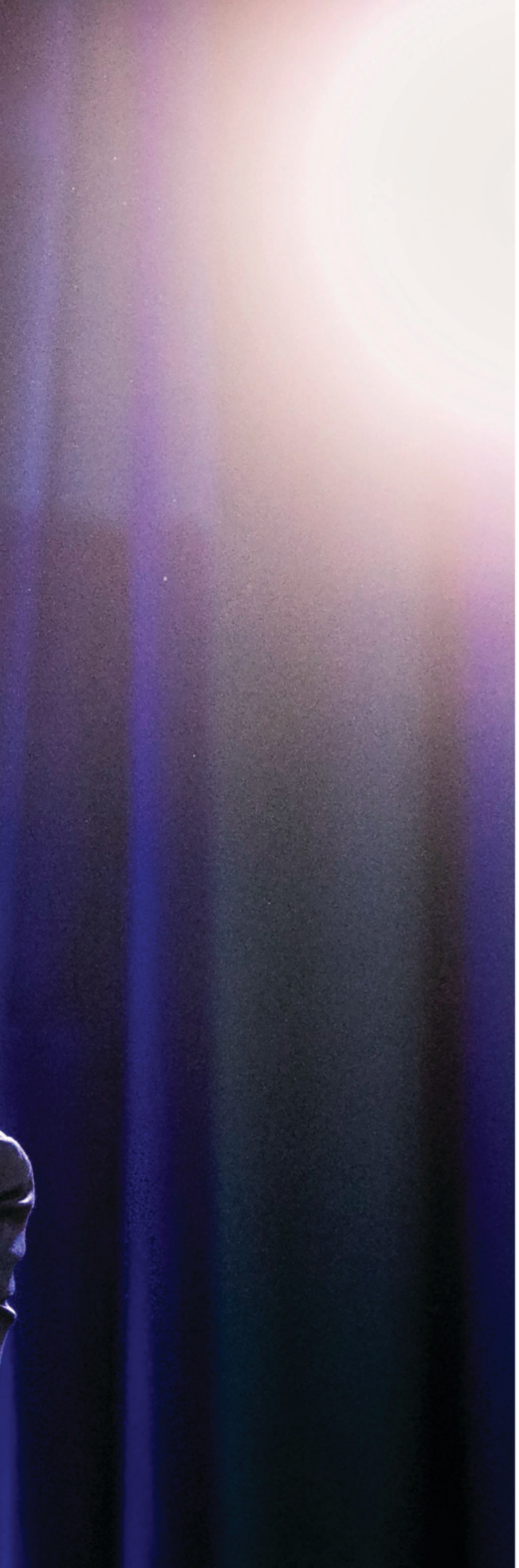
There's a reason for these fears: the Squad represents neither the Democratic majority in the House nor the Democratic mainstream. The party's rank and file is older, more moderate and more numerous than its online-activist faction. But it's the latter that has driven the conversation during the first phase of the primary. Candidates have voiced support for eliminating private health insurance, decriminalizing unauthorized border crossing, and providing health care for undocumented immigrants and reparations for slavery, none of which is popular with the general electorate. "The vast majority of presidential candidates are hopping on the bandwagon being presented by these four people," says a senior Democratic congressional aide. "It just doesn't make logical sense."

Democrats' success in the 2018 midterms was powered largely by moderate candidates in reddish suburban districts, where college-educated white women, in particular, swung against Trump's brand of politics. But liberals say playing Trump's game is the real electoral poison. "Why not be bold and brave? People want change," says Karine Jean-Pierre of MoveOn, a left-wing group that endorsed Sanders in 2016. "Trump is not a genius. He's just a racist. In 2018, he doubled down on immigration and the caravan, and suburban moms said, 'No, we don't like seeing babies in cages, we don't like the Twitter wars, stop it.' He was doubling down on hate, and the Democrats were talking about who we are as a country. We have got to make this election a referendum on Donald Trump."

Trump has other plans. "He knows something that a lot of people in his universe know: if he makes this election about a choice, that bad guy … vs. Donald Trump, that he can win," says former Democratic Senator Heidi Heitkamp, who is now running a group aimed at making inroads among rural voters to deny Trump a second term.

Only a big, diverse party could contain pols as divergent as Biden and Omar. And so the Democrats' challenges are also an opportunity. This nasty, brutish chapter of American politics has voters hungering for stable leadership, a unifying vision, a path out of the darkness. From the ashes of Trumpism, the Democrats have a chance to build a new American creed—if only they can figure out what it is. —*With reporting by* ALANA ABRAMSON *and* PHILIP ELLIOTT ◻

As an old-school politician in a changing party, Biden has struggled through a rocky campaign rollout



2020

BIDEN'S LONG ROAD

The former Vice President may be the most fragile front runner in a generation

BY PHILIP ELLIOTT/DOVER, N.H.

ON A WARM FRIDAY AFTERNOON IN JULY, JOE BIDEN STOOD under a tent on the banks of the Cocheco River in Dover, N.H., trying to rally a crowd of 200 behind his presidential campaign. Biden's staff had handed him a speech and positioned teleprompters onstage. But he wasn't in the mood to follow the script. So aides removed the prompters, and Biden tossed the printed speech aside. "I've got a nice speech here for you, but I'm not going to take the time," he told the crowd. "I'm going to try to shorten this up for you."

And off he went, literally and figuratively, pacing the lawn over the course of a 36-minute riff. Instead of focusing on policy prescriptions, such as his call to triple federal funding for low-income schools, Biden noted that his home state of Delaware has more minorities than New Hampshire. He emphasized policy proposals from the eight years he served as President Barack Obama's loyal lieutenant: rejoining the Paris climate agreement, updating the Iran nuclear agreement, building on Obamacare. Then Biden cut to the chase. The big ideas espoused by today's Democrats are unrealistic, he said, and his colleagues' unwillingness to collaborate with Republicans is foolhardy. "Somehow," he said, "being able to cooperate with the other side is to be naive."

The speech was a snapshot of the challenge facing Biden's campaign. Six months before the Iowa caucuses, Biden looks like the shakiest front runner in years. Though every poll still shows him running atop the Democratic field, since he joined the race in late April, Biden's support has been cut almost in half. His campaign message has been unfocused, with the candidate caught between advice dispensed by a raft of hired guns, a cadre of old friends and his own instincts. "Biden's gonna Biden" is how staffers have come to shorthand it. As the Democrats debate where to take the party in the future, Biden can seem stuck in the

PHOTOGRAPH BY AL DRAGO

past: while rivals expressed support for paying slavery reparations to African Americans, Biden was talking about working across ideological lines with avowed segregationists. A 76-year-old man who joined the Senate during the Nixon Administration increasingly seems out of step in a primary dominated by questions of race, gender and inequality. Where others are preaching the virtues of a fight, Biden is urging civility. "There will always be a gap between Joe Biden and the future," snarked Adam Green, a co-founder of the Progressive Change Campaign Committee, which is backing Senator Elizabeth Warren.

Biden tries to put a positive gloss on things, saying the problems come with the territory when you're the front runner. "I'd rather be there than anywhere else," Biden said. "But, you know, it's amazing." A few hours later, he was more open about his frustrations with his campaign. Staffers had invited journalists to tag along as he picked up some chocolate chip ice cream. But Biden—who believes President Donald Trump's rise was fueled by naked authenticity and sees the same trait in himself—found the setup phony. "After all these years of being in public office, I'm known for ice cream and sunglasses," Biden lamented. "There's gotta be something better than that."

The primary won't get any easier. After the drubbing he took in the first round of debates, when Senator Kamala Harris pummeled his record on busing and school desegregation, the pressure is on the former Vice President to perform better in his second debate, on July 31. The uneven first performance only raises the stakes for its sequel.

If Biden's focus on Trump is intended to project an aura of inevitability, it carries with it a whiff of arrogance. In an echo of Hillary Clinton's 2016 campaign, Biden's schedule has been lighter than most, he's kept the press at arm's length (aides declined to make him available for an interview for this story), and he often brushes off criticism from other contenders. "Lots of folks love him, but he cannot rest on his laurels," says Jaime Harrison, a Democratic National Committeeman from South Carolina who has not endorsed a presidential candidate. "He has got to work for it."

Biden has plenty of time to fix things, and plenty of advantages: the ties to Obama, coast-to-coast name recognition, long and loyal relationships across the party, a deep bench of big-money donors and a lead in the polls. In a primary in which voters are focused on electability, Biden fares best in theoretical head-to-head matchups with Trump. Despite the appearance of disarray, Biden's policies remain aligned with not just the broad middle of the American electorate that can deliver the presidency but also with the majority of the Democratic Party, aides believe. "The reality is this: the Twitterverse and the very loud part of this party is an important part of this party, but it's not the only part of the party," says messaging maven Anita Dunn, a former communications director for Obama and now a Biden adviser.

But before Biden can take on Trump, he has to convince restless Democrats that he can unite the party and win back the White House. And for now, he seems determined to do it his way, whatever the cost.

As the Democrats debate where to take the party in the future, Biden can seem stuck in the past

EVEN BIDEN'S ENTRY into the race was tortured. His most trusted advisers pushed him to announce after the 2018 midterms. But Biden demurred into the December holidays, then into the first quarter of the year. Weeks dragged on as rivals jumped into the race and started scooping up staff and donors. "Oh, God. It was painful," recalls Representative Cedric Richmond, a co-chairman of the Biden campaign, sitting at his usual table at the National Democratic Club, the kind of private cubbyhole where party insiders once tapped presidential candidates.

When Biden finally committed, his team recorded a video near his childhood home in Scranton, Pa., emphasizing his middle-class roots. They planned an April 24 launch but held it a day, recognizing that it fell on the day of a political conference for women of color. The sensitivity was understandable: Biden had been accused weeks earlier by a Nevada state lawmaker, Lucy Flores, and others of unwanted physical affection, setting off a national discussion of his history of inappropriate touching and his stumbling response to the accusations. Ultimately, instead of the middle-class pitch, the campaign released an ad decrying the August 2017 rallies in Charlottesville, Va., and declaring that Biden was running because Trump had changed the soul of America and Biden was the priest to exorcise the President's hate.

But Team Biden continued stumbling. Most campaigns use their postlaunch window to blitz voters and TV studios. Biden took four days to hold his first campaign event, at a Pittsburgh union hall, then spent the next few weeks meeting with his financial bundlers and blowing off campaign forums organized by special-interest groups. There were so many days when Biden had no events that the campaign started padding the public agenda by announcing the candidate's meetings with his own advisers. Biden's official rally-style launch wasn't until May 18. His campaign headquarters in Philadelphia didn't open until July.

Longtime Biden allies were aghast at the rocky rollout and undisciplined performances. On the trail, Biden often adds caveats that his facts and figures might not be precise. ("Don't hold me to that" is a favorite out.) During an event in a Concord, N.H., union hall on June 4, the same day it was revealed that his campaign had failed to credit think tanks for his energy policy, Biden took so many questions that his staff had to turn on the music to play him offstage, as if he were an Oscar winner whose speech was droning on too long. Two weeks later, Biden invoked former Senate colleague James Eastland, the embodiment of the Dixiecrat South, as an example of collaboration despite ideological differences. Rivals unloaded on Biden, who was exasperated that anyone would construe his invocation of Eastland as praise.

Biden made his first campaign stop on April 29 at the Teamsters Local 249 hall in Pittsburgh

Some advisers urged Biden to confront his rivals more aggressively. Biden initially resisted. His approach, advisers say, is informed by the 2008 race, in which some Clinton supporters vowed to never support Obama for President after a bruising nomination fight. Biden saw the same dynamic again in 2016, when some of Bernie Sanders' supporters either stayed on the sidelines in the general election or opted for a third-party candidate, costing Clinton crucial votes in states like Pennsylvania, Michigan and Wisconsin. Biden didn't want to contribute to a repeat. "His singular focus was to beat Donald Trump. Even if it wasn't him that is going to beat Donald Trump, he didn't want to jeopardize the Democrats' chances of winning," Richmond says.

Others inside the Biden operation complained that much of the coverage of the campaign has ignored his policies. "You hear a lot about Joe Biden on television but not necessarily about what his plans are and what he would do and why he's running and what his vision for America is," says Symone Sanders, a senior adviser. But when the campaign tried, in close quarters, to get Biden to have crisp answers to the big questions, they found him ruminating on legislation he introduced in the 1970s or hearings he attended in the 1980s and 1990s. Ask him a question about the Green New Deal and he'll remind his crowds that in 1986 he introduced the first climate-change bill in the Senate.

BIDEN REMAINS AS LIKELY as anyone to be the nominee. More than anything, Democratic voters want someone who can send Trump into retirement. And Biden advisers argue that he is uniquely positioned to beat Trump. "It's not just because he's popular. It's not just because they like him. It's because he fills all the voids Trump leaves as President of the United States," says campaign pollster John Anzalone. And after decades in the public eye, Biden has a connection with voters. He is a skilled grief counselor at moments of national sadness: school shootings, natural disasters, state funerals. "America knows this guy. For Democratic primary voters, they really know him," Anzalone says.

To win the primary and the White House, Biden must maintain his strong reservoirs of support in the African-American community. Among African Americans who plan to vote in South Carolina's Democratic primary, Biden leads the field on the question of who would best handle questions of race (28%) and "is most in touch with the concerns of people like you" (31%), according to a July poll from Fox News. In public and private polls, Biden's Eastland detour did nothing to shake black voters' support. But Biden advisers anticipate continued criticism of his record on race, especially in a contest against two African-American rivals in Harris and Senator Cory Booker.

The campaign is also preparing for more attacks on his record. Biden was chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee during Clarence Thomas' Supreme Court confirmation battle, which included what is now seen as unfair treatment of Anita Hill, a law professor who accused Thomas of sexual harassment. Biden shepherded the 1994 crime bill, viewed by many Democrats as biased against African Americans, into law. He voted for the war in Iraq. In the years since he left the White House, he and his wife made more than $15 million from book deals, paid speeches and an Ivy League teaching gig that could undercut his self-image as "middle-class Joe." All run counter to what the loudest voices in the Democratic Party are demanding.

For all that, catching Biden may prove difficult. The rules Democrats will use to select the nominee in Milwaukee next July are favorable to Biden. Candidates cannot win pledged delegates from a state unless they reach 15% support. Apart from Biden, only Warren, Harris, Sanders and Pete Buttigieg appear currently in position to hit that threshold right now, and Biden has the moderate lane mostly to himself. Even then, the states will divvy up the delegates proportionally. Biden's deep ties throughout the party would come in handy in a long battle.

But that remains a long way off, and in the early rounds of the fight, Biden has not inspired much enthusiasm. On the same day Biden met with those 200 voters in Dover, Buttigieg beat him to town by a few hours. Awaiting Buttigieg a 10-minute stroll across the river? Almost 900 people. ◻

PREVIOUS SPREAD: BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES; THIS SPREAD: MARK PETERSON—REDUX

ILHAN OMAR IS ALREADY HOME

The refugee lawmaker is at the heart of controversy, and a community

BY ALANA ABRAMSON/MINNEAPOLIS

DAHABO MOHAMED, A FRESHMAN AT RICHFIELD HIGH NEAR Minneapolis, patiently waits in the school's auditorium to meet her Congresswoman, Ilhan Omar. It's a Tuesday morning in late May, and the line of students stretching ahead of Mohamed means she will lose part of her lunch period. But it is rare for her to see someone in a position of power who looks like her—a Muslim woman in traditional garb—so the free time can wait. "For people like me who wear a hijab, to see her doing what she's doing is inspiring," she says.

Omar's decisive victory last fall was a groundbreaking moment for American Muslims. The Congressman she was succeeding, Keith Ellison, had been the first Muslim elected to Congress, but she and her colleague Rashida Tlaib are the first two Muslim-American women to serve in Congress. The House of Representatives had to change its rules to allow Omar to wear her hijab on the floor. For many Muslims, the 36-year-old Somali American's election was a sign they were inching toward greater acceptance in American society.

But since she arrived in Washington, Omar has been embroiled in controversy. In mid-February, members of her own party, including top leadership, publicly rebuked her after she made comments many deemed anti-Semitic. Days later, she accused President Donald Trump's special envoy to Venezuela, Elliott Abrams, of complicity in genocide and human-rights violations in Central America in the 1980s.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY GABRIELLA DEMCZUK FOR TIME

Omar in her office at the U.S. Capitol on July 15

Trump distorted comments she made about 9/11 to insinuate that she supports terrorists. Her office says she has received hundreds of death threats.

Now a series of confrontations has propelled her to center stage in national politics. In mid-July, Omar and three other women of color from Congress's freshman class clashed with Democratic Party leaders over a bipartisan aid package to address the immigration crisis at the southern border, exposing deep divisions between the old and the new guard in the House. Then Trump, beset by multiple failed attempts to address the border crisis himself, launched a racist Twitter attack against the four freshmen, saying that if they didn't want to be in America, they should "go back."

Trump's comments caused outrage and triggered a temporary truce between House Democrats, who passed a resolution on July 16 condemning his comments. But the episode also highlighted how Omar has become an object of intense division. Her opponents on the right see a left-wing ideologue who criticizes the country that gave her shelter: she came to the U.S. as a refugee at age 12 and is the only one of the so-called Squad of four freshmen who was actually born abroad. Moderate Democrats say her progressive policy proposals have no chance of becoming law and endanger their House majority. Her defenders say she is standing up for core American values in the face of rising racism.

For her part, Omar accepts that she will inevitably be a target for the President and his allies. "The right wing, Trump, the Republicans, white supremacists [launch] attacks on immigrants, refugees, black people, women, Muslims," she tells TIME. With her, she says, "they have all of that in one box."

But for all the attention, little is known about Omar's background, political ascent and work on Capitol Hill. Interviews with the Congresswoman and more than a dozen of her associates and constituents reveal a complex portrait, one that suggests she is neither the radical bogeywoman portrayed by the President nor the savior some on the left want her to be. At her core, Omar is an ambitious freshman member of Congress with a unique history that simultaneously propels her forward and pushes her back, a subject of interpretation and fascination by all sides.

Omar seems content to embrace her role as lightning rod and activist

UNDERSTANDING OMAR'S PLACE in American politics requires understanding the community she grew up in and represents. More than 50,000 Somali Americans live in Minnesota, the largest population in the U.S., many in the densely populated Minneapolis neighborhood of Cedar-Riverside. Often called Little Mogadishu, after Somalia's capital, the enclave is to Somali Americans what New York's Lower East Side was to Jews at the turn of the 20th century or what Lowell, Mass., was to the Irish after the potato famine. Signs for halal meat and imported African wares are everywhere, in both Somali and English, and women clad in hijabs are the norm.

Omar and her family settled here more than 20 years ago after fleeing civil war in Somalia, which has not had an effective central government since 1991. As a small child at a sprawling refugee camp near Mombasa, Kenya, Omar listened as her father and grandfather talked glowingly about the land in which they hoped to live. "The America that my dad and grandfather were excited about," she says, "was an America that had prosperity for all, an America that had a fair and just system."

But when she arrived in 1995 after America offered the family resettlement, Omar found the tales of equality and opportunity to be something of a fantasy. She had no idea her skin color and religion would make her a minority, and in Virginia, where the family stayed temporarily on their way north, she was the subject of taunts from classmates. The situation in Minnesota was better, she says. Her high school administrators encouraged those from different ethnic backgrounds to find common ground, and Omar remains grateful. "The culture here is that you care for one another," she says of Minnesota. "And for Somalis, who have a communal culture, it is easy to get connected to a place that strives to create community."

Omar's family were among the first Somalis to arrive in Cedar-Riverside. (She says she was one of a handful of Somali Americans when she began high school and that there were more than a hundred by the time she graduated.) But she has seen the community struggle over time. Violent crimes in Cedar-Riverside rose by more than 50% from 2010 to 2017, and the area has seen significant gang conflict. A 2015 congressional report found that more than 250 Americans had left to join ISIS or other militant groups since the Syrian civil war started in 2011; more than a quarter were from Minnesota, and many of those were Somalis, the report found. The community elected Minneapolis' first Somali-American city council member in 2013 but remains troubled.

Trump's election in 2016 highlighted these woes, not least because he called out Minnesota on the eve of his victory. "You have seen firsthand the problems caused with faulty refugee vetting, with large numbers of Somali refugees coming into your state," he told a cheering crowd at an airport hangar in Minneapolis. Two days later, Omar made history by winning a seat in the Minnesota state legislature representing the community he was denigrating. That contrast would define her political trajectory.

Omar didn't run for office to spotlight the plight of the Somali community. Her political base was actually young progressive activists, many of whom she had worked with as a nutrition educator at the University of Minnesota. She decided to run in 2018 against 44-year incumbent Phyllis Kahn after she met with the elderly mother of her future campaign chair, who felt she was not being heard. Omar saw the political opportunity

Omar delivers a rebuke of President Trump on July 15, one day after he tweeted that she should return to her home country

to make inroads beyond the Somali community and seized it. She championed a progressive platform during both of her campaigns, advocating for the cancellation of student debt, expanded health care and stronger environmental regulation. The issues for which she is controversial in Congress—her views on Israel and foreign affairs—were not the centerpieces of the campaign that got her there.

OMAR STARTED OUT STRONG on Capitol Hill. She landed a seat on the Foreign Affairs Committee, joined the Congressional Black Caucus, became whip for the Congressional Progressive Caucus and has used social media to gain an unusually high profile. Within the progressive faction of Congress, she is known as a workhorse who deals with less sexy pieces of legislation like rules packages and budget caps. She has cosponsored over 200 bills and took the lead on a proposal with Senator Bernie Sanders and Representative Pramila Jayapal to forgive all $1.6 trillion in student debt. She's also gained a reputation for fearlessness in meetings on issues close to her heart, like immigration from Africa and female empowerment.

But her repudiation of fellow Democrats who don't sign up for progressive policies has irked party leaders and more moderate members who argue that her views don't represent most of the party and could endanger its majority. Only one of her bills has become law, and it has been overshadowed by her rhetoric. Omar and her colleagues' "sole focus is to push pure advocacy," says a senior Democratic aide.

The policy disputes are just the start. In a Twitter exchange in February, Omar said of congressional support for Israel, "It's all about the Benjamins baby." Speaker Nancy Pelosi and others condemned the comment, and Omar apologized. But a month later, she told a group at a Washington bookstore, "I want to talk about the political influence in this country that says it is O.K. for people to push for allegiance to a foreign country." Many Jews thought she was insinuating that they harbored dual loyalty to the U.S. and Israel. Republicans seized the opportunity to paint the entire party as anti-Semitic.

In the Minneapolis suburb of St. Louis Park, which has a large Jewish population, Omar's comments shocked some of her constituents. "They were really hurt and disappointed and scared," recalls Rabbi Alexander Davis of Beth El Synagogue. After Omar and her colleagues introduced a resolution on July 17 that appeared to back anti-Israel boycotts, Davis' fellow Rabbi Avi Olitzky told TIME the move "makes it very hard to support her."

Others feel Omar is being singled out for who she is and what she looks like. "Some of my progressive allies who are quick to criticize the Congresswoman and other folks for invoking anti-Semitic tropes might need to examine where the strength of that response is coming from," says Beth Gendler, a Jewish resident of the suburb.

Omar shares similar feelings, although she appears to be learning the Washington skill of conveying them delicately. When we discussed these controversies in her district office in downtown Minneapolis, she attributed the criticism to "preconceived notions." People who are not from her background "have said a lot worse things," she says. Such statements have come to define Omar's career: allies applaud them, but critics see in them a lack of responsibility for her own words, or even a hostility to the country that gave her shelter.

For her part, Omar seems content to embrace her role as provocateur, lightning rod and activist. "I believe in my work," she says, and "the way I show up in society should define who I am." And for many in the Somali community in Minneapolis, she represents the future. Near Mohamed in the line to meet Omar at the high school auditorium, another student of color jumps into the conversation as she waits to meet the woman who has broken barriers to rise in America. "Seeing that she can do it," the girl says, "it means I also can do it." ▯

World

Rising from the ashes **Inside the fight over rebuilding Notre Dame**

By Vivienne Walt / Paris

Photographs by Patrick Zachmann for TIME

A worker scales the roof where the April 15 blaze that ravaged the 850-year-old cathedral began

STUMBLING THROUGH CHOKING smoke, Antoine-Marie Préaut was on a divine mission. The conservator of the 4,000 or so historic monuments in the Paris region made his way through the burning Notre Dame cathedral on April 15 to rescue from a locked chest the Crown of Thorns that Jesus is said to have worn to his Crucifixion. The minutes were ticking by, and there was no certainty Préaut and the firefighters accompanying him would succeed in recovering the priceless relic. "I barely had any consciousness about what was happening," he says. Then he heard a roar from the huge crowd that had gathered on the square outside the medieval masterpiece in the heart of Paris, and his heart sank. "We heard the cries of all Parisians outside," he says. "We said to ourselves, 'The spire must have fallen.'"

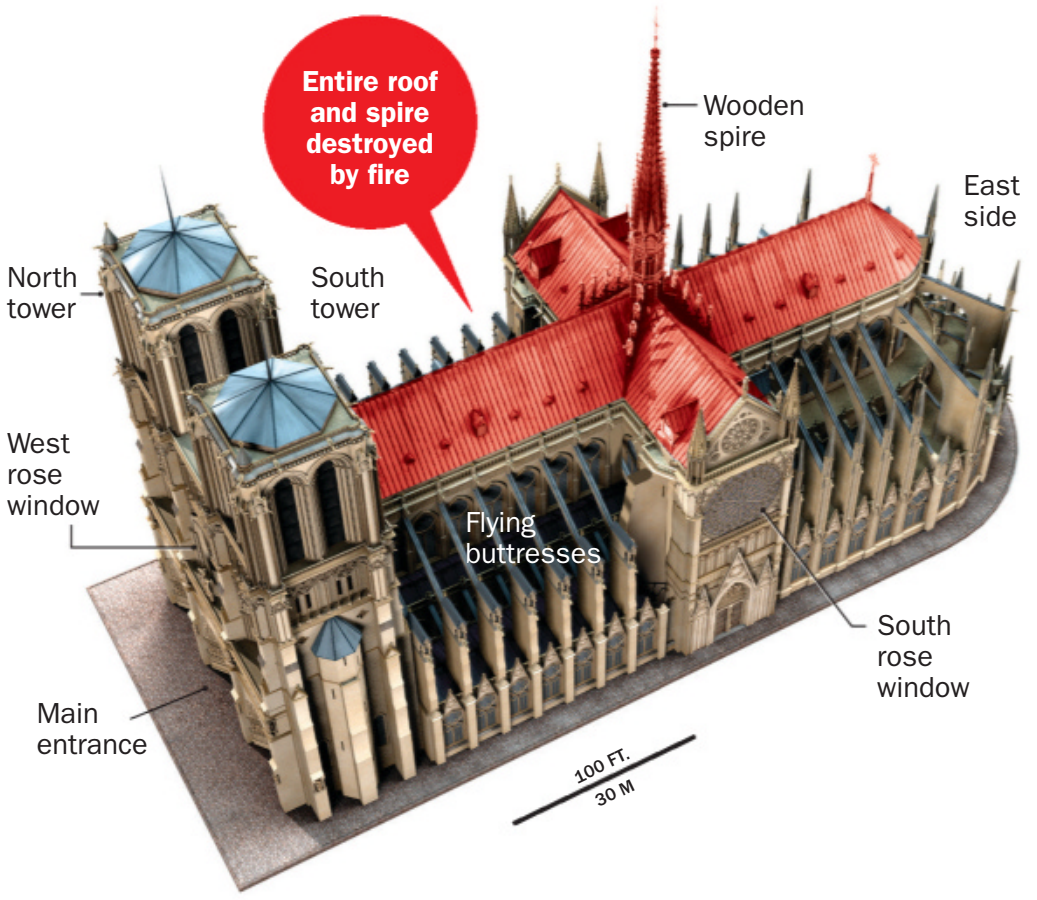
The cause of the blaze is still unknown, yet what it exposed is clear—the fragility of our most cherished buildings and the wistful attachment we hold to the spaces within their walls. The cathedral's spire snapped off like a twig just before the sun set, crashing 314 ft. into the nave, through the ceiling that carpenters had painstakingly carved by hand in the Middle Ages, using 5,000 oak trees. Within France itself, the Notre Dame fire laid bare another, more complicated fragility: a tension rippling through the country, pitting the urge to preserve the past, and traditions of an exceedingly proud nation, against the need to overhaul its hidebound ways and modernize its system.

In early spring, the fractures in France were playing out in the most violent street demonstrations in decades, with the so-called Yellow Vest movement protesting President Emmanuel Macron's plans to remake the country's economic model. Enraged by an elite class—epitomized in their minds by Macron—that appeared to have no understanding of their financial pain, demonstrators marched, while agitators repeatedly trashed and burned stores and banks across the country.

Then came the Notre Dame fire. Amid the boarded-up and smashed storefronts across the city, the sight of smoke billowing from one of its most treasured icons seemed to deepen a sense of a country under strain. "There was a spirit of destruction which really collided with the spirit of maintenance and protecting our culture from the past," says Nicole Bacharan, a French political analyst and author. "It was a moment people truly shared, that said something important about what it meant to be French. It was not a terrorist attack. It was not a natural disaster. It was a sudden violent destruction of something people hold very dear."

The destruction of the cathedral seemed to many like a turning point. It was "the drop of water that made the vase overflow," says Thierry Paul Valette, one of the Yellow Vest leaders in Paris. With the embers still smoldering inside Notre Dame and the French in collective grief over the fire, Macron went on television the next day to appeal for national unity and vowed to have Notre Dame rebuilt within five years. "I believe very deeply that we can transform this catastrophe into an occasion to come together," he said. "Politics will take over again, but it is not the moment now."

The damage done



THE APPEAL TO UNITY seems to have worked, at least for now. The weekly protests have abated, with demonstrators exhausted from eight months of battle. But the place of worship that 14 million tourists a year once visited remains a shuttered wreck on Paris' Île de la Cité, and now the old divisions are beginning to gather around what comes next for the beloved building. The fraught discussion cuts to France's most sensitive matters of history and culture, class and political ideology, with questions that will likely take months to resolve. How quickly can it be rebuilt, and what will it look like when it is? What will it cost, and who will pay? And there is another question that has bubbled quietly ever since the fire ignited atop the roof: Did official penny pinching, and the labyrinthine structure of the French state, unwittingly lead to disaster?

In the meantime, the Gothic jewel remains behind police barricades, a magnet for crowds of gawkers who gather to watch the salvage work, like rubberneckers at a road accident. "As Notre Dame burns, so falls France," the French writer Sébastien Lapaque

A rope-access technician installs a wooden arch to support a flying buttress on July 22

MAGNUM PHOTOS

From left: Rows of chairs, unmoved since the fire, on July 4; a technician clears rubble on July 11; a sculpture is relocated to a storage area with other pieces on June 25

mused in *Le Point* magazine in June. The cathedral sits at the zero point of all the country's map readings, Lapaque tells us, and is a fitting representation of the country's troubled state at the moment. "It has a double symbol, both politically and spiritually," he says.

STEPPING INSIDE NOTRE DAME today is like entering a mausoleum. In sharp contrast to the cathedral's typically crowded nave, where tourists and worshippers jostle for space, the huge interior is eerily empty and silent, the only movement coming from remote-controlled construction vehicles; it is still deemed too risky to have humans disturb the fire-damaged space. The robot earthmovers, dwarfed by the towering vault, edge slowly in and out of the nave, extracting the fallen stonework and burnt wood, piece by piece—including bits of the shattered spire—that crashed through the roof during the fire and now sit in a pile of debris. Each piece is meticulously cataloged, then placed in a tent in Notre Dame's front yard, in readiness for restoration.

Where the oak roof frame known as the "forest" once was, there is now a giant cavity open to the sky. The fire incinerated the entire roof, as well as its latticed wooden interior and the spire. Three of the stone arcs of the ceiling, some of them dating from the 13th century, also collapsed in the fire. Lengths of plastic sheeting and nets now shelter parts of the cathedral from rain, dust and in June a severe heat wave that accelerated the damage to the stonework. To reach the rooftop site where the fire began, we climbed the 300 narrow, spiral stone steps in early July, then up a makeshift stepladder with a rope-hold. Months on, the levels of lead in the air are still dangerously high, and we were obliged to don disposable overalls in the cathedral and advised to launder all clothing when we left.

At least until the end of the year, this will be a triage site, as workers scramble to preserve the fragile ruins of the building. From outside, the worst appears to be over, but inside, there are deep worries about the continuing risks to Notre Dame—including the lingering possibility that the cathedral could still collapse.

Sensors placed around the building the day after the fire show that its structural elements have not shifted during the months since, despite the severe shocks it suffered from the collapsing roof and spire, the falling stonework and the hours of high-pressure water that firefighters pumped into the building in their desperate fight to bring the blaze under control. Since Notre Dame is deemed still too fragile for humans to work directly on many of its surfaces, it will be months before the 100 or so construction workers, engineers and architects can assess the full extent of the damage from the fire.

The gravest risk is that the dozens of ancient stone vaults, or arcs, that crisscross the vaulted ceiling could still fall. In the worst-case scenario, that could cause Notre Dame's 28 flying buttresses—an invention of Gothic architecture—to collapse inward on the walls and bring down the building. "Considering all the vaults took—with the fire, the water, the shocks, the roof framing that collapsed on them—we do not know if there are fissures and fractures," says Philippe Villeneuve, Notre Dame's chief architect, who is tasked with overseeing the reconstruction. Standing atop the roof, he says, "We do not know because we cannot go and see them."

To prevent such a disaster, in early July a giant crane began hoisting 7-ton wooden frames cut to the exact specifications of the flying buttresses, to be wedged inside each arc, in order to weigh them down and stop the building from shifting. Once all 28 frames are fixed—expected to be in August—workers will construct walkways on the roof so they can begin examining each surface close up, in search of damage that might have been overlooked.

The realization that Notre Dame came close to collapsing on the night of April 15—and the prospect that it might still face an existential threat—haunts those now working to rebuild it. For many, the work is deeply personal. André Finot, 37, Notre Dame's communications chief, was a priest's assistant when he was 15 years old. "It is very, very much a part of me," he says. Villeneuve, 56, says he began dreaming of being Notre Dame's architect as a small boy, when he came across his grandfather's books on what he calls "my cathedral." Since the fire, he says, he has struggled to sleep and has consulted a therapist. "I have been wounded and wrecked, truly crushed with pain," he says. "There are tears that have not yet even come."

BEFORE THE FIRE was even extinguished on April 15, donations and pledges of help to restore the cathedral began pouring in. Donors big and small have since promised around €850 million ($950 million) to fund the restoration, much of it within days of the disaster. The irony is not lost on Notre Dame's staff and supporters, who for years had struggled to raise money for even urgent repairs. In the two years before the fire, the charity Friends of Notre Dame raised $4 million to pay for pressing work, including a four-year restoration of the now destroyed spire. In just the three months after, the U.S.-registered charity has raised more than $8 million.

If the cathedral had a fully funded restoration program, some believe, the calamitous fire might have been averted. "If we had permanently restored the cathedral in the past 150 years, certainly we would not have been in this position," says Michel Picaud, head of Friends of Notre Dame. "We had looked for resources to restore it before the fire, and we had struggled to do so." This willingness to allow the cathedral to decay has echoes in history; the cathedral's last major restoration occurred in the 19th century, only after Victor Hugo described its parlous state in *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*. Villeneuve says he had long ago drafted plans for Notre Dame's needed repairs. "They only had to press a button, and we would make them," he says. "We just did not have the money."

The fire exposed what had long been known inside Notre Dame; the French government allotted only about €2 million a year for its upkeep. Paris' best-known place of worship fared better than many other sites; among France's 87 cathedrals, it was the only one with a security guard on duty, according to Préaut, the conservator of Paris' historic sites. But the city's firefighters were only alerted to the blaze on April 15 a full half hour after it began whipping through the upper level—after the lone security guard finally climbed the 300 stone steps to the roof and saw the inferno raging out of control. "It was too late," Finot says.

Now Notre Dame's needs are of a different order of magnitude. Once the building has been secured sometime next year, an entire roof, ceiling and spire will need to be built from scratch. Each inch of the vast cathedral needs to be cleaned of lead, about 300 tons of which fell from the roof. Of the money pledged, the bulk has been promised by French billionaires, including €200 million from the family of Bernard Arnault, the world's second richest person, and its luxury-goods group LVMH; €200 million from the Bettencourt-Meyers family and its cosmetics giant L'Oréal; and an additional €100 million from billionaire François Pinault. Apple, Disney and IBM are among the companies that have also pledged to help.

But only small fractions of these huge sums have been paid so far. The Arnault and Pinault families had each paid €10 million by late June and are awaiting formal contracts with France's Ministry of Culture, due on July 29, before transferring more money,

according to Christophe Rousselot, managing director of the Foundation of Notre Dame, an organization founded in 1992 by the Catholic Archdiocese of Paris, which is now coordinating those funds.

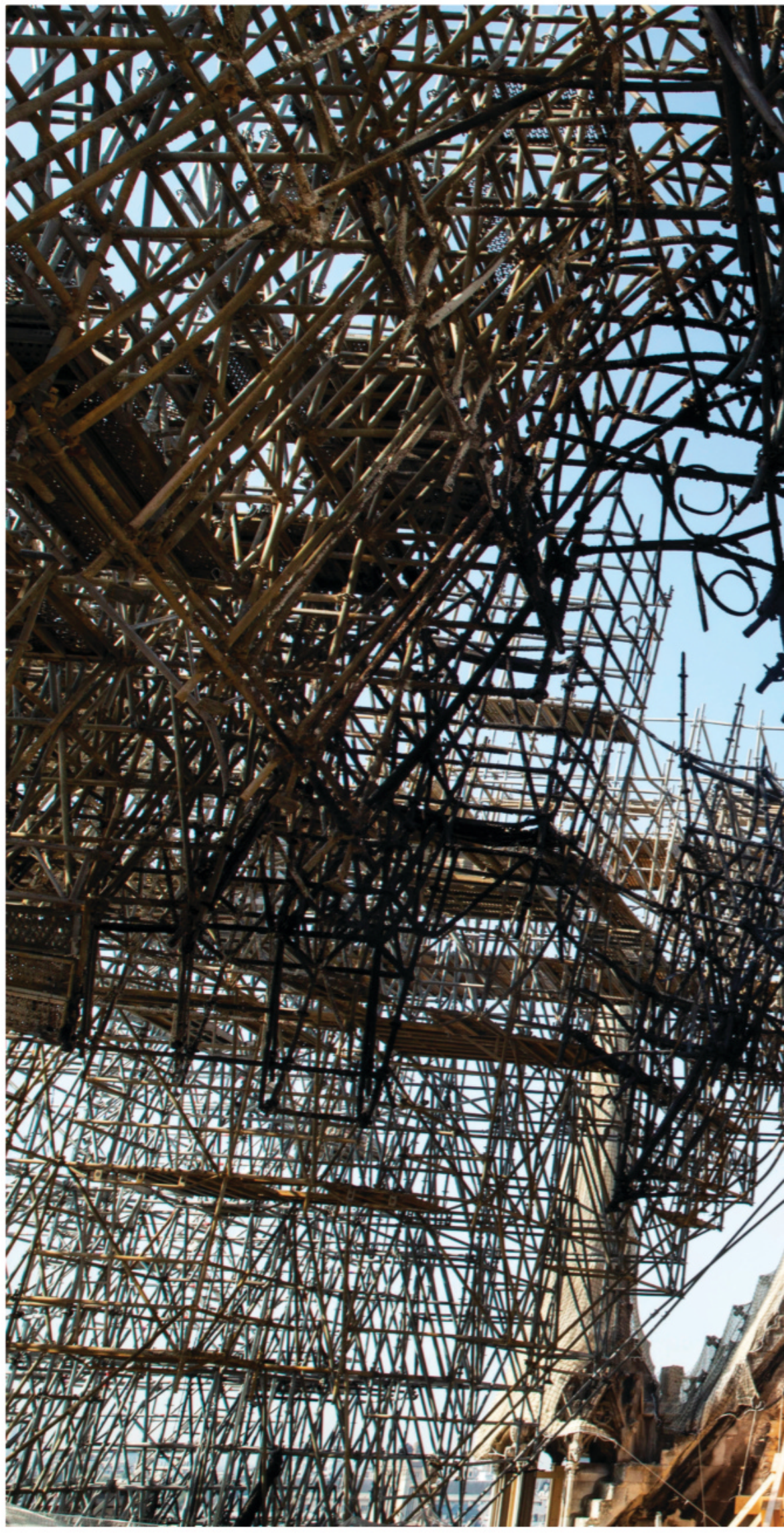
Until late June, the work under way at Notre Dame—the urgent cleanup operation and the critical task of stabilizing the building—was being funded largely by small donors, ordinary folks in France and elsewhere who logged on to fundraising sites during the first hours after the fire.

"There is nothing that compares to this," says Celia Verot, director general of France's Heritage Foundation, a semiprivate organization that funds restoration projects for the country's 40,000 or so listed heritage sites. Her group has so far received about €55 million in donations from 230,000 people in 152 countries, she says, roughly one-fourth of the total pledged. Rousselot says his group is collecting about €200,000 ($223,600) a week, despite the fact that it has barely appealed for funds since the fire. "The donations have been completely spontaneous," Rousselot says. "With a natural disaster, people donate because they see appeals. But with Notre Dame, it is a completely different case, because of the attachment of the French and people around the world. It is about personal memory, history, family." Although donations have come from around the world, Verot and Rousselot say much is from the French themselves—in a country, they point out, where philanthropy is not commonplace and is only partly tax-deductible. "They saw their cathedral burning and were very sad," Verot says. "The act of giving makes them happy."

Yet the seemingly effortless flood of money for Notre Dame has angered many people here, especially those who have taken to the streets in recent months against ostentatiously wealthy elites. "People were shocked that it seemed so easy to give €100 million," says Bacharan, the political analyst, who has written extensively on comparisons between the U.S. and France.

Among the Yellow Vest protesters, there is a sense of injustice that Notre Dame's fire has brought huge generosity, while their own financial struggles have not. "People are asking for money for purchasing power, and then billionaires give millions and millions," says Valette, the Yellow Vest leader, who says he was deeply sad about Notre Dame's fire. "For stone, we give a lot of money. For people who are hungry, we give almost nothing."

BY THE TIME the hundreds of millions of euros finally begin to flow for Notre Dame's reconstruction, the moment of political comity over the building will likely have truly vanished. Even shortly after the fire, critics on the far left were accusing the President of exploiting the fire for political ends. "With Notre Dame, Macron sees a chance to burnish his image,"



Burnt scaffolding that once surrounded the spire, which crashed to the ground in April, will be removed

the left-wing news site Mediapart said on April 19. "It is as if months of raging anger on the streets were suddenly only a distant rumor."

The President's foes on the right echo this criticism, pointing to Macron's five-year deadline for the rebuilding, a period that would encompass the presidential elections in 2022 and end just before the Summer Olympics in Paris in 2024. "He did this to correspond exactly to his re-election," says Jacques Grosperrin, a member of the French Senate from the right-of-center Républicains party.

But the most contentious fight is yet to come, over what kind of cathedral should emerge from the fire. That question is already pitting Macron—the technophile leader who called for an "inventive reconstruction" of the cathedral—against the conservatives, who cast the French leader as an arriviste with no great respect for tradition.

Two days after the fire, Macron's close ally Prime Minister Édouard Philippe announced an international architecture competition for Notre Dame. Some of the world's top architects unveiled designs to replace the vanished roof, especially the shattered 295-ft. wooden spire, which was added to Notre Dame only about 150 years ago by the 19th century French architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc. The British architect Norman Foster, who put a glass dome on Berlin's Reichstag in 1999, called for a "modern, fireproof, lightweight" roof. French-American architect Cooper Copetas, born and raised in Paris, proposed a spire made of steel and glass bricks that would cast a beam of diffused light into the nave.

Now at SB Architects in Miami, the 26-year-old tells us he grew up passing Notre Dame frequently and was devastated watching the fire from the U.S., before seeing it as an opportunity to design something fresh for his hometown. Paris, he says, has rebuilt structures many times through the centuries. He believes that replicating an old design is "dishonest." Instead, a contemporary touch "is something Notre Dame deserves," he says. "It has lost something. So something made of frosted glass, that is ambiguous from afar, could represent the ghost of what used to be there."

These kinds of proposals alarmed conservatives and traditionalists, and in May, the Républicains-dominated Senate held up an attempt to pass a law that will guide the reconstruction of the cathedral, disagreeing with the lower house, controlled by Macron's La République en Marche, over how the spire should be rebuilt and when the deadline should be set. Yet the parliamentary debate was mainly symbolic; the cathedral has been owned by the French state since the French Revolution in 1789, which means theoretically Macron and the government get to decide how the reconstruction should proceed.

It's still unknown. Despite Philippe's announcement three months ago, the government has yet to set up a structure to receive designs, and it says a scientific committee will eventually consider the options. But veering from strictly traditional designs could provoke a major political battle. Macron's critics on all sides accuse the President of trying to build his legacy around Notre Dame, much as former President François Mitterrand commissioned the intensely controversial glass pyramid by I.M. Pei at the Louvre Museum in the 1980s. "Macron wants to leave his imprint on Notre Dame. It is for the people of France to decide," says Grosperrin, who favors holding a national referendum on the rebuilding. "We know we are a very fractured nation, with the Yellow Vests and the demos. But this is Notre Dame. It is our heritage, our history."

'Macron wants to leave his imprint on Notre Dame. It is for the people of France to decide.'

JACQUES GROSPERRIN, FRENCH SENATOR

A political fight might also have financial consequences. Verot says some donors have specified that their money is "not for contemporary architecture." Rousselot says he too has found that big and small donors are averse to innovation. "In general, people do not want anything extraordinary or very different than what existed before April 15," he says. "That is for certain."

By luck, engineers have conducted 3-D scans of Notre Dame over the past 25 years, allowing those rebuilding the cathedral to follow the designs of centuries ago. Those toiling inside Notre Dame after the fire appear to favor this option, though they hasten to add that it is Macron's decision, not theirs. "This is above all a place of worship," says the cathedral's chief architect, Villeneuve. "We do not do just anything on a monument like this."

It will be months, if not years, before the debates over money and design are finally resolved—time that nonetheless is a blink of an eye compared with Notre Dame's original construction nearly a millennium ago, when carpenters, architects and stonemasons spent two centuries creating a spectacular medieval temple. But for now, people in Paris are focusing not only on what was destroyed but also on what was saved—like the cathedral's most valuable treasure, the Crown of Thorns. When Préaut finally made it through the thick smoke to the locked chest where it was kept, he held his breath. "We turned the key," he says. "And it opened." He helped carry the 2,000-year-old relic to safety, stumbled back out of the burning cathedral and joined the throngs of Parisians grieving for Notre Dame. ◻

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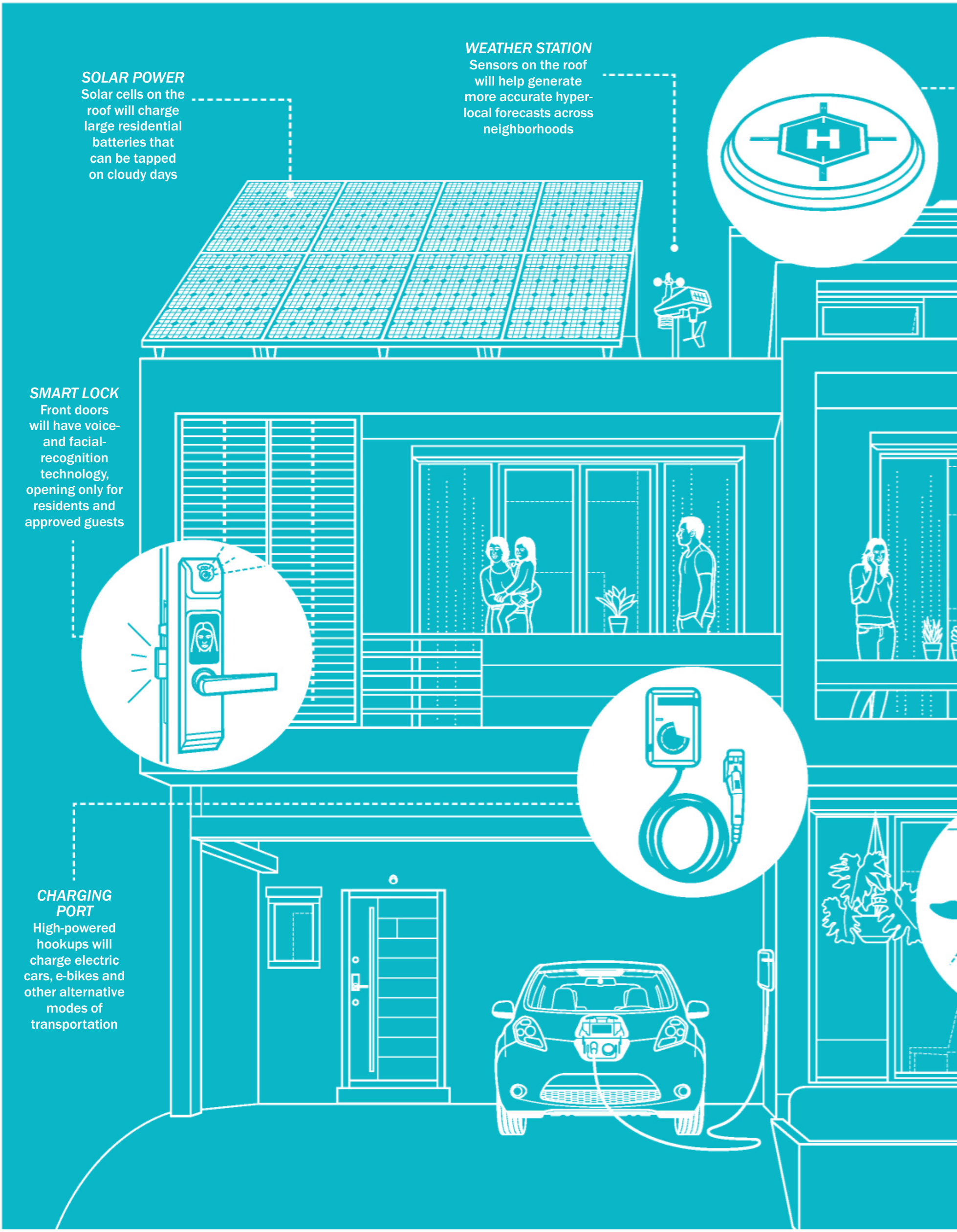
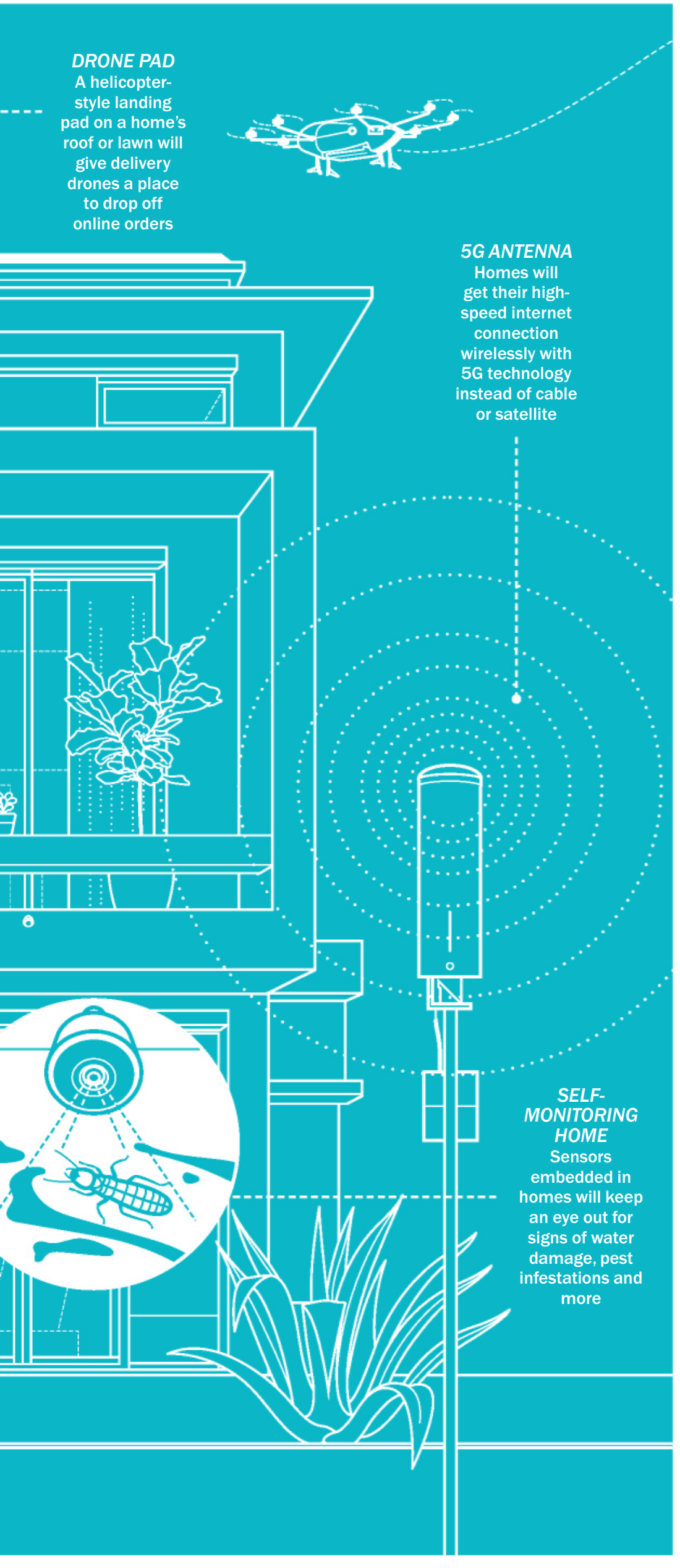


ILLUSTRATIONS BY JAMESON SIMPSON FOR TIME



Technology

HOME IS WHERE THE CHIP IS

Developments in artificial intelligence, robotics and sensors are making houses and apartments smarter than ever

BY PATRICK LUCAS AUSTIN

IT'S 6 A.M., AND THE ALARM CLOCK IS BUZZing earlier than usual. It's not a malfunction: the smart clock scanned your schedule and adjusted because you've got that big presentation first thing in the morning. Your shower automatically turns on and warms to your preferred 103°F. The electric car is ready to go, charged by the solar panels or wind turbine on your roof. When you get home later, there's an unexpected package waiting, delivered by drone. You open it to find cold medicine. Turns out, health sensors embedded in your bathroom detected signs of an impending illness and placed an order automatically. Good thing you already knocked that presentation out of the park.

AMAZON EC2

Developers

New Routes

Weather Impact

TEACH OLD CIT

Feature Transformation

Feature Staging

Weather

Transit Info

Satellite Feed

Amazon S3

TRAIN #234: ON TIME

AMAZON SAGEMAKER

C

B

A

Input/Output

GUI

Ad hoc User Requests

API

Data Warehouse

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Technology

THAT, AT LEAST, is the utopian version of the smart home that exists 10 years out. Swedish research firm Berg Insight says 63 million American homes will qualify as "smart" by 2022, with everything from Internet-connected light bulbs to cameras that let us spy on our pets from the office (there were nearly 130 million homes in the U.S. in total in 2018). But a decade from now, experts say, we'll move from turning the lights on and off with our voices to total immersion in the Internet of Things (IoT). Thanks to advancements in artificial intelligence, the smartest homes will be able to truly learn about their owners or occupants, eventually anticipating their needs. Developments in robotics will give us machines that offer a helping hand with cleaning, cooking and more. New sensors will keep tabs on our well-being. Central to all of this will be the data that smart homes collect, analyze and act upon, helping to turn the houses of the future from a mere collection of gadgets and accessories into truly "smart" homes.

All the automated attentiveness will come with a high price tag: consumers will spend $123 billion on IoT gear by 2021, according to advisory firm ABI Research, a number that's likely to rise thereafter. Aside from Internet-connected televisions, manufacturers are putting their R&D and marketing budgets behind home-monitoring and security gadgets—they will have 22.6% of the smart-home market share by 2023, estimates research firm IDC, with smart speakers and lighting equipment not far behind, at 15.4% and 11.8% respectively. There are already at least 7 billion connected IoT devices, according to market-research company IoT Analytics. But as smart-home technology becomes easier to use and its benefits become more clear, the industry is poised to take off. "Sustained growth is expected to continue … as consumers adopt multiple devices within their homes and as global availability of products and services increases," according to IDC.

Of course, as our homes learn more about us, keeping them secure will become all the more important. Every device that's connected to the Internet is a potential target for hackers. When we're talking about devices that can unlock our homes from afar, peer into our living rooms using cameras, and collect our most sensitive and personal data, cybersecurity will become all the more vital. Any kind of massive breach that turns off consumers, says Daniel Cooley, chief strategy officer at electronics-component manufacturer Silicon Labs, could be catastrophic for the industry. "I call it a mass-extinction event for the Internet of Things," he says.

A range of technological developments will drive smart-home technology well beyond what's available on store shelves today. Innovations in artificial intelligence, for example, stand to upend almost everything in our lives, including our homes. You might already be using some kind of AI-powered voice-assistant gadget to get the latest news or weather forecast every morning. But in the smart home of the future, those AI platforms could serve as the brain for entire homes, learning about residents and coordinating and automating all of their various smart gadgets. IoT company Crestron, for example, is working on software that tracks a person's habits, like which music they want to hear in the morning or which lights they want to be on at a certain time of day. Then, once it gets the hang of a user's preferences, it automatically plays just the right playlists or dims the lights before bedtime. "That's really the next evolutionary step in true automation," says John Clancy, head of Crestron's residential business.

As our homes learn more about us, keeping them secure will become all the more important

ROBOTS, TOO, WILL HAVE a role to play in the smart home of the future. Smart vacuum cleaners like iRobot's Roomba are already picking up after us, while products like the Aibo, a robotic dog for children, show how they might help keep us company like a pet. As for the future? Robotic-furniture company Ori Living is working with Ikea on pieces that change based on your needs, getting the bed out of the way when you need a desk, or hiding your closet when it's dinnertime. Design firm Design3 recently showed off a smart-home robot concept, CARL. The fabric-covered bot is meant to slowly roll around your home, activating its retractable cameras and sensors to detect intruders, notify

MINI MICROPHONES
Microphones throughout a home will give users access to voice assistants no matter where they are

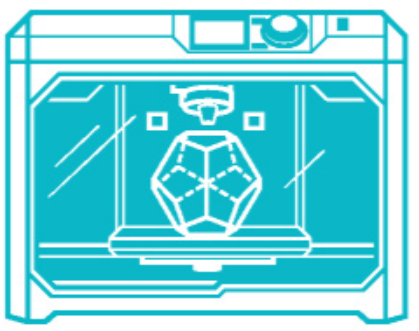
TECH-FREE ROOM
Homes will have special rooms that block wireless signals, giving residents a place to disconnect

ROLLABLE TELEVISIONS
Ultra-thin high-definition TVs will roll up when not in use, saving space and letting residents display art

LIGHT-UP WALLS
Hanging light fixtures will be replaced with energy-efficient luminous walls that provide light throughout a home

ROBOTIC KITCHEN ARM
Artificially intelligent robots with cameras and sensors will help prepare meals and clean up after dinner

HEALTH SENSORS
Sensors throughout a home will keep tabs on residents' health, scanning for signs of illness and more



3-D PRINTER
3-D printers will become as common as microwaves and toasters, creating tools and silverware on demand

SMART SHOWER
Showers will be controlled by voice, automatically getting set to the right temperature every time

SHAPE-SHIFTING FURNITURE
Furniture will change form and function on command, helping to save space in smaller homes and apartments

you of any harmful emissions or keep an eye on your pet. And computer-graphics company Nvidia is working on a smart robotic arm that can act as its owner's personal sous chef, doing everything from slicing and dicing veggies to helping with cleanup; it could be particularly useful for busy parents or disabled users. If such a device went into production, cameras and sensors could help prevent it from accidentally injuring an innocent bystander who's just on the way to the fridge for a quick snack before dinnertime.

Health applications will drive at least some of the smart-home growth over the next decade. Cameras and sensors embedded in refrigerators will suggest more nutritious alternatives if people are reaching for the sugary sodas a little too frequently. Similar technology in medicine cabinets will check if residents have taken their prescriptions. And sensors will even show up in toilets to check for signs of any potential health conditions by scanning human waste before it's flushed. Bathroom-fixture company Toto has experimented with urine-sampling toilets, while one company has filed patents for devices including a mirror that's meant to monitor users' health just by analyzing their skin. Homes will have health sensors of their own, too, that check for issues like water damage, pest infestation and so on, alerting owners to any potential problems before they become far costlier to manage.

ALL THIS LEARNING and scanning that the smart home of the future will be doing may understandably raise privacy concerns. Indeed, some smart-home devices have already been targeted by hackers, whether to access the data they hold or to use them as tools in larger cybersecurity schemes. In 2016, hackers took over hundreds of thousands of insecure IoT devices, then used them to send bogus Internet traffic to target websites in hopes of crashing them; the incident temporarily crippled Internet connections throughout parts of North America and Europe. Government regulation is in the works too. A bill put forth by Virginia Senator Mark Warner in March would push the government to set up minimum security requirements for smart devices used by federal agencies; such requirements could eventually become standard for the industry at large.

You're more likely than not to end up in a connected home one day, whether you mean to or not. Architect Michael Gardner, founder of construction firm Luxus Design Build, says homes are increasingly being built "smart" from the ground up. "It's such an integral part of the home that we're designing it from the beginning, where beforehand technology was always an afterthought," he says. Ultimately, experts say, people will come to see smart-home technology as essential as electricity, refrigeration or air-conditioning. Smart-home tech, and the data it collects, will "be like plumbing," says Cooley, from electronics-component manufacturer Silicon Labs. "You'll rely on it." ◻

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THEIR IMPACT
***Orange Is the New Black*, returning for its last season, didn't just change TV—it reshaped it entirely**

INSIDE

A WHITE SUPREMACIST DESPERATE TO REFORM IN SKIN

JAMIE LEE CURTIS ON THE DARK SIDE OF DECLUTTERING

ONE YEAR AFTER NANETTE, *HANNAH GADSBY ISN'T DONE*

TELEVISION

Orange Is the New Black is ending. TV will never be the same

By Judy Berman

PRISON IS JUST NOT AS ROMANTIC AS ALL THOSE '70s exploitation movies made it out to be," Nicky Nichols, an inmate played by Natasha Lyonne, says to Alex Vause (Laura Prepon) in the emotional seventh and final season of *Orange Is the New Black*. "I want my money back."

The joke works on multiple levels: Nicky and Alex are lesbians. They're also privileged white women who couldn't have foreseen what awaited them when they reported to Litchfield Penitentiary, the fictional upstate New York minimum-security prison where the show's first five seasons take place. But the quip is a winking commentary on the expectations viewers have been projecting on the Netflix dramedy even since before its July 2013 premiere. Created by Jenji Kohan, the maverick writer-producer behind Showtime's *Weeds,* and based on Piper Kerman's memoir of the same cumbersome name, *Orange* sounded, at first, like a pulpy look at women in prison as seen through the audience-friendly eyes of a pretty bisexual WASP from gentrified Brooklyn (Taylor Schilling).

In fact, as the millions of fans who've made it both the most-watched original series and the best-loved show in Netflix's library are well aware, *Orange* was always a more ambitious project than that. Kohan famously conceived Schilling's heavily fictionalized Piper Chapman as a Trojan horse for smuggling in dozens of women Hollywood historically ignored—poor women, black women, brown women, trans women, immigrant women, elderly women, mentally ill women, women with double-digit dress sizes.

When HBO and Showtime failed to open their gates, she took the horse to Netflix. Kohan's timing was perfect: new to developing original programming, the service granted her a lot of leeway. Brought to bear on her expansive vision at a critical moment in the rise of streaming, that freedom yielded a series that smoothed the transition from cable's 2000s golden age to the vibrant and diverse, if fragmented, era that's come to be known as Peak TV. More than a bold experiment in representational sleight of hand, *Orange* became the most influential show of the decade.

SIX YEARS MAY not seem like a long time in the history of TV. *Friends* ran for a decade; *The Simpsons* is about to turn 30. But it would be hard to underestimate how much has changed on the small screen since 2013. Netflix launched its first high-profile original, *House of Cards,* that February. Hulu and Amazon were also dipping toes into the original-content pool, though the latter was essentially crowdsourcing and neither had produced a signature series. (Amazon's *Transparent* arrived in 2014. Hulu lacked a big hit until *The Handmaid's Tale* premiered in April 2017.)

As such, the phrase *binge watching* was just starting to gain currency when the first season of *Orange*—all 13 hours of it—showed up on Netflix. Viewers who now regularly consume a full season's worth of a given series within 24 hours still weren't sure that they could get used to this new form of couch potato–dom. Kohan's show played no small part in converting skeptics. I remember marathoning the season in a weekend, spurred on by my impatience to know everyone in *Orange*'s tremendous cast of characters. For better or worse, bingeing is now so common that a term for watching one episode of TV at a time would be more useful.

Despite a consensus that we were living through a small-screen renaissance, casts were still depressingly homogeneous in 2013. Shonda Rhimes' shows were exceptions that proved the rule: when it debuted the previous year, *Scandal* became the first network drama with a black female lead since the 1970s. With an Outstanding Drama short list consisting of *Mad Men, Game of Thrones, Downton Abbey, Homeland, House of Cards* and winner *Breaking Bad,* the 2013 Emmy Awards were glutted with nominees that both starred and catered to white people, most of them straight and affluent.

Orange broke that mold in just about every conceivable way. When it came to representation, this wasn't merely the first prestige show since *The Wire* built around poor and nonwhite people—or the rare program intended for a general audience that featured more than a token queer regular. It also endowed each of these characters with stereotype-defying specificity. In 2014, when this magazine declared that America had reached a "transgender tipping point," Laverne Cox's breakthrough role as trans inmate Sophia Burset made her the face of that moment. For once, women whom mainstream society habitually ignored were being represented in pop culture as individuals with virtues and flaws, rather than as a monolithic mass of degenerates or vixens.

The show's gallows humor disrupted genre categories to the extent that

STARS THE SHOW BOOSTED

NATASHA LYONNE
Her Netflix original series *Russian Doll* received widespread critical acclaim

SAMIRA WILEY
She was nominated for two Emmys—and won once—for her role on *The Handmaid's Tale*

DANIELLE BROOKS
She earned a Tony nod for her performance in *The Color Purple* on Broadway

LAVERNE COX
The actor and activist became an important figure in the fight for trans equality

LYONNE, *ORANGE IS THE NEW BLACK* (2): NETFLIX; WILEY: HULU; BROOKS: GETTY IMAGES

Piper (Schilling), left, with fellow inmate Anita (Lin Tucci)

the Emmys moved it from comedy to drama between Seasons 1 and 2. And over the years, its unflinching depiction of the American justice system has both mirrored and catalyzed intensifying debates around mass incarceration, private prisons, systemic racism, economic inequality and police violence against people of color. Some of these story lines have been controversial: Kohan got blowback for having a guard kill Samira Wiley's bighearted Poussey Washington at the end of Season 4. Maybe the point was that even Litchfield's gentlest inmate could be a casualty of police brutality, but many fans just saw another black body sacrificed in service of a plot twist. Still, the conversations that have come out of *Orange*'s perceived missteps have felt as vital as the ones around its successes.

IF THE SHOW no longer generates as much attention as it enjoyed in its first two or three seasons, it's likely because TV was so quick to absorb its innovations. The past five years have been defined by both a spike in scripted programming—one driven by the Netflix content factory *Orange* helped build—and a related boom in shows that represent marginalized communities. Now series as different as Donald Glover's virtuosic *Atlanta* and the hit network comedy *Fresh Off the Boat,* going into its sixth season, center characters of color. *GLOW,* a lighter dramedy about lady wrestlers from executive producer Kohan, features another big, diverse cast of women. Before Jeffrey Tambor's #MeToo problem, *Transparent* followed Kohan's lead in honoring every letter of LGBTQ; *Pose* revolves almost entirely around low-income queer and trans people of color. Nonbinary actor Asia Kate Dillon had a role on *Orange* before making history as a nonbinary character on *Billions.*

Orange has served as a veritable binder full of talented women of all identities. Wiley now stars on *The Handmaid's Tale.* Uzo Aduba, who won an Emmy for her deeply humane portrayal of mentally ill inmate Suzanne Warren, will play Shirley Chisholm in an FX drama about the Equal Rights Amendment. Dascha Polanco, *Orange*'s Daya Diaz, shined in DuVernay's *When They See Us* and will appear in a film adaptation of Lin-Manuel Miranda's *In the Heights.* Danielle Brooks' powerful performance as Poussey's best friend Taystee Jefferson led to a Tony-nominated run in *The Color Purple.* After *Orange* reinvigorated Lyonne's career, she co-created and starred in her own idiosyncratic Netflix dramedy, *Russian Doll.* It's one of the year's best new shows.

While *Game of Thrones*' final season generated more fanfare, it also felt like a requiem for a kind of series—epic, expensive, built to dominate the cultural conversation—that the quirkier, more fragmented and politicized streaming era can't sustain. *Orange* is the most important show of the decade in part because it wears its import so lightly. Though the moment when it felt truly audacious has passed, it just keeps experimenting. Devoted entirely to a three-day inmate uprising, Season 5 was as exhilarating as it was exhausting. More past-their-prime shows should jump the shark with such wild abandon.

> ***'There are very few crossroads anymore ... I'm looking for those spaces where people actually do mix.'***
>
> **JENJI KOHAN,** on NPR's *Fresh Air,* in 2013

IN ITS UNEVEN but mostly satisfying final season, on Netflix July 26, *Orange* applies its fluid attentions to immigration, in yet another unprecedented, if rushed, story line. Elsewhere, beloved characters get endings that feel right even when they're crushing—ones that don't reflect justice so much as the harsh calculus of privilege, savvy, drive, luck and social support that governs outcomes for incarcerated people.

But my favorite plot imagines how prison might look under progressive leadership, with classes in restorative justice and an end to solitary confinement. While these reforms can't put an end to the problem of mass incarceration, they're a step in the direction of affording inmates the human dignity that the show insists they deserve. Like *Orange Is the New Black* itself, the new Litchfield Max isn't perfect—but its innovations pose a radical threat to the status quo. ☐

Kristen Bell's hero is back on the case

TELEVISION

Veronica Mars grows up, but will never get old

By Judy Berman

STORIES DON'T REALLY END ANYMORE. AS LONG AS THERE'S earning potential in them, they get revived or rebooted or upgraded to multiplatform universes. Yet for every hundred unnecessary sequels and comebacks, we get one that transcends the whole cynical business: *Black Panther. Mad Max: Fury Road. Twin Peaks: The Return.* And now the fourth season of *Veronica Mars,* which comes to Hulu on July 26.

Canceled after just three seasons on the CW and its predecessor UPN, creator Rob Thomas' *(Party Down, iZombie)* smart teen drama about a high school girl who moonlights as a private investigator had a limited audience during its original mid-'00s run. But it was precisely the kind of brilliant-but-canceled show whose legacy flourished in the age of streaming—a critical darling and cult favorite whose star, Kristen Bell, just kept rising. By 2013, Thomas had a fan base enthusiastic enough to raise $5.7 million for a crowdfunded *Veronica Mars* movie—one that turned out to be fun but disappointingly slight in comparison with the series.

If Hulu's revival is everything the movie should have been, that's surely in part because it's so timely. The turbulent Trump era makes it tempting to stamp *relevant* on any story that's sufficiently dark, but Bell's tough, sarcastic pessimist has deep roots in current controversies around gender and class. Set in Neptune, Calif., a fictional beach town with a sharp divide between rich and poor, the show's first season opens after the murder of Veronica's best friend. Her dad, Sheriff Keith Mars (Enrico Colantoni), has bungled the investigation, losing his job, wife and good name. Now an outcast, Veronica digs into both the homicide and her own drugging and rape at a party thrown by her old, popular clique.

Even for someone so resilient, wounds like these never fully heal. "When you're raped and your best friend is murdered before you're 17," Veronica notes in the new season, "you don't develop a great sense of mercy." You might also have problems with intimacy. In Neptune after blowing up her New York life in the movie, Season 4's Veronica is cohabiting with—but set against marrying—her soul mate Logan Echolls (Jason Dohring). She's also trying to keep Mars Investigations afloat as Keith grows older.

'We're not shying away from the fact that Veronica is an adult woman.'

KRISTEN BELL, to *Entertainment Weekly,* about the reboot

LIKE THE FINAL CW SEASON, but with much more success, a single investigation consumes all eight episodes of the revival. Neptune has become a spring-break destination, in a boon to small-business owners but a nuisance to the town's elite. Tensions peak when a bomb explodes at a beachfront motel during the yearly bacchanal, killing a handful of staff and tourists, each with a messy backstory for Veronica and Keith to probe. Combined with lots of familiar faces (Max Greenfield, Percy Daggs III, Francis Capra, Ryan Hansen, Ken Marino), the influx of new characters (including Patton Oswalt's pizza-delivery nerd and an ex-con played by J.K. Simmons) makes for an overwhelming premiere. Yet subsequent episodes settle into a mystery suspenseful enough to be absorbing, but never so complex that it detracts from the characters.

Veronica, with her unique mix of light humor and dark perspective, remains a wholly unique creation. Her relationships with Logan and Keith evolve in ways that reflect both the characters' ages and the trauma they've survived; all three performances are vulnerable and humane. More than the identity of the bomber, the pertinent question that propels the season is: Can someone who's been through what Veronica has been through ever find happiness? So many teen dramas have struggled to grow up along with their audiences, but *Veronica Mars* never sugarcoated or condescended when tackling the adult themes that made it so prescient. It makes for an elegant transition. ◻

VERONICA MARS; FOUR WEDDINGS AND A FUNERAL: HULU; SKIN: A24

TELEVISION

A classic rom-com, remixed

The beloved 1994 rom-com *Four Weddings and a Funeral* had three things going for it: writer Richard Curtis' extreme Britishness, a charming lead actor in Hugh Grant and a script that avoided daily routines in favor of big life events. Sadly, Hulu's reboot, out July 31, has none of these elements to recommend it. Spearheaded by Mindy Kaling, the new *Four Weddings* series plays like an unnecessary remix of a perfect pop song. Both versions follow a group of friends through that dizzying period of their early 30s when everyone suddenly gets hitched.

The stories share few other similarities, but that wouldn't be a problem if the team behind this adaptation had managed to re-create the movie's witty, propulsive feel. Instead, episodes get bogged down in the friends' daily lives. The dialogue is rough; instead of tapping into the literary sensibilities of British comedy, the writers exploit the London backdrop for broad stereotypes about upper-class and low-income English people alike. There are entire conversations in which no one utters a sentence you can imagine coming out of a real human mouth. Star Nathalie Emmanuel has yet to master the rhythms of comedy. The good news? The original is streaming on Hulu too. —*J.B.*

Emmanuel as Maya

MOVIES

A racist finds redemption in *Skin*

AS RACISTS GO, TRADITIONAL SKINheads, with their shaved pates, thick-soled boots and swastika tattoos, seem almost old-fashioned. There's a newly ascendant breed of white supremacists who often look like—and may in fact be—the clean-cut guy next door. The old-school skinheads are at least easy to spot: you know right away that you're dealing with an angry, closed mind.

Even so, you'd never expect a xenophobic, hate-filled skinhead to have the sweet face and demeanor of the actor Jamie Bell, which is what makes Bell's performance in Guy Nattiv's *Skin* so effective: Bell plays Bryon "Babs" Widner, a young man who, as a disadvantaged, love-starved kid, found a home with adoptive parents Fred and Shareen (Bill Camp and Vera Farmiga). His new guardians gave his life structure. They also indoctrinated him in neo-Nazism. Surly and belligerent, Babs has no compunction about beating up a black teenager at a white-supremacist rally in Cleveland.

Then Babs meets Julie (Danielle Macdonald, perhaps best known for her role in the 2017 indie *Patti Cake$*) and her three young daughters. After a bad experience with a neo-Nazi boyfriend, Julie has changed her mind about her old racist behavior and thought patterns, and she gets Babs thinking about his own. The change has to come from the inside, but even when it does, there's still the outside to contend with: Babs' face and neck are marked with tattoos that proclaim his old beliefs as loudly as words do.

Nattiv won an Academy Award for his 2018 short film, also titled *Skin,* which dealt with similar themes (and also featured Macdonald). This *Skin*—inspired by real-life events—doesn't always have the dramatic force it should, and unanswered questions linger. (Babs' adoptive dad has political aspirations, and has run for office in the past, yet the authorities seem clueless about the power he holds over his thuggish disciples.)

But Bell is always worth watching. When we first meet Babs, his eyes as blank as ball bearings, he's like a shell of a person, filled with bitter ideologies that don't suit him. It's only when he starts to think for himself that his better nature emerges. Bell makes every gradation of that shift believable, showing how the only way forward for Babs is to look beyond the skin he's in.

—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

Marked man: Babs (Jamie Bell) has racist ideology written all over his face

FICTION

Cleaning up crime

By Jamie Lee Curtis

YOU CAN'T CLEAN PEOPLE UP. YOU CAN'T ORGAnize them or kiss them goodbye, thanking them for their service when they no longer spark joy in your heart. There are these nagging, inconvenient things called feelings attached to people that you can't bundle up in little boxes or toss.

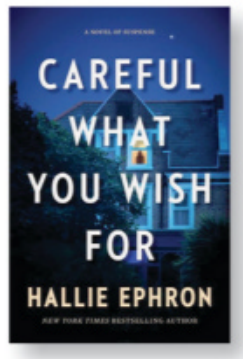
Decluttering is a fruitless fad. It's a reaction to the confluence of all our technology-enabled connectivity and the gnawing feeling that we are wildly out of control of our bodies—overpowered by drugs and obesity—and as a planet, burdened with the fear that we're one angry tweet away from nuclear war. By focusing on the order within our homes, we're missing the point: life is messy, and so are people. Trying to manufacture control over either is a symptom of our desperation.

These themes are explored in Hallie Ephron's new thriller, *Careful What You Wish For,* a novel set in the surprisingly treacherous world of professional organizing. It's funny that I would be asked to write about it, for a couple of reasons.

First, I was a neatnik long before the arrival of Marie Kondo. I followed the very tidy path my late mother laid out that neatness in the physical world meant a neat and ordered mind. I fed that thin broth to my children, and attempted to do so to my husband. When they all revolted, I was encouraged to look at it more objectively. What was I trying to protect them (and myself) from? What was so scary about disorganization? I wrote about Kondo for the TIME 100 list of the world's most influential people in 2015. I participated in a public talk during which I pressed her, a new mother, on what to do with the myriad paintings and crayon drawings, the abundance of art and beauty a kindergartner brings home and which most of us put up on our refrigerators, when her own child was still producing messes of a different kind. She suggested we photograph everything that doesn't spark joy and then toss it. I think I pulled a face, to the horror of the audience.

Second, you might be surprised to hear that I don't like mysteries. Life is terrifying enough without trying to identify the perpetrators of crimes and how they pulled them off. I hate watching horror films (I know, I know) or anything scary. I try to leave all that to audiences who enjoy them.

BUT *CAREFUL WHAT YOU WISH FOR* is not scary—it's thrilling and suspenseful. Protagonist Emily and her best friend, Becca, declutter for a living through their two-person company. They've tasted viral fame on a tiny scale—for satisfying tidying videos—but fame is a gateway drug (trust me), and in the book, it's the first sign of trouble to come.



Careful What You Wish For *is Ephron's seventh work of stand-alone suspense fiction*

Emily is married to a hoarder, a case of opposites who've attracted. In their union, there's plenty of opportunity for budding resentment, as well as more menacing problems. When Emily and Becca take on two new clients on the same day, they don't realize they've stepped into a mess that smells like a rat—or something dead.

Ephron's dank and musty storage units offer perfect settings for the piecing together of the puzzle, one made of human pieces in various sinister shapes and sizes. Ephron, sister to writers Delia and Amy and the late Nora, deftly builds these tensions, and offers readers the pleasure of unraveling the mystery in a way they will relish. I laughed more than I expected to, related to quotidian elements like overpacked closets, and let myself be carried along on this nightmare of a trip. I anticipated bad guys where there weren't any, and thought I'd figured it out when I hadn't. The red herring smelled fishy to me. The marital dances were familiar yet fun. And I found a compelling companion to Emily, a modern-day grown-up Nancy Drew in a sh-tty car and a ponytail, as she searches for her own purpose while hunting down the perpetrator of the emerging crime. She is a friend we would all want to keep—messes included.

Curtis is an award-winning actor and a best-selling children's book author

ILLUSTRATION BY BETHANY BICKLEY FOR TIME

Summer thrills

Wellness retreats, escape rooms and book clubs may not be typical settings for riveting page-turners. But for the characters in these novels, games and getaways carry life-or-death stakes. Though the dangers that lurk are of the usual variety—the protagonists' own dark pasts, for example—the most insidious are the anxieties attendant to privilege. —*Annabel Gutterman*

Her Daughter's Mother

Daniela Petrova

Lana Stone didn't intend to follow her egg donor, a Columbia student named Katya Dimitrova, off the subway car. Nor did she mean to strike up a friendship with her or go clubbing together soon before the woman she was never supposed to meet disappeared. But a newly pregnant Lana keeps those details to herself when the police start asking questions.

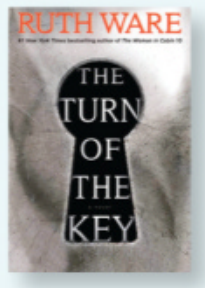
In Petrova's suspenseful debut, Lana's situation only devolves from there. Her ex, a Columbia professor who left her after several failed rounds of IVF, seems to have some connection to the missing student. And the fact that Lana has the most to gain from Katya's disappearance—ensuring that the donor will never attempt to interfere with her child—raises suspicions as the investigation proceeds. Desperate to find answers and maintain her innocence, Lana digs up chilling truths about the woman to whom she owes so much.

Never Have I Ever

Joshilyn Jackson

Amy Whey enjoys the normalcy of her life in the Florida suburbs. She makes up one half of a stable marriage, teaches driving lessons and runs a book club with other local moms. But one night, when she and the group gather for their usual trio of wine, gossip and book talk, their routine is upended by a newcomer.

Angelica Roux, who has just moved to town, redirects the conversation from the latest novel, enticing the women with a new game that involves answering questions about their personal lives. Most of the group leans into the naughty nature of the invasive inquiries, but Amy is skeptical. She has something to hide—and Roux knows it. In a moment alone, the stranger tells Amy that she knows her truth and wants her to pay for it. As the night unfolds, best-selling author Jackson packs in dramatic reveals about the women's complex histories, as Amy searches for a way to outwit Roux and protect the life she's worked so hard to build.



The Turn of the Key

Ruth Ware

For Rowan Caine, working as a nanny for the Elincourt family seems too cushy to pass up. The pay is generous, the children well-behaved and the family's smart home outfitted with every modern luxury. Previous nannies had quit, claiming the house was haunted, but Rowan doesn't believe in that stuff—or so she thought.

Veteran crime novelist Ware ratchets up the suspense when her protagonist is left home alone with the Elincourts' young daughters. As a more unruly side of her charges emerges, Rowan begins to hear strange noises and discovers a disturbing number of surveillance cameras planted around the house. Just as the image of the perfect family starts to erode, one of the girls ends up dead under her watch—and Rowan finds the finger pointed in her direction.

The Retreat

Sherri Smith

Wellness retreats can be life-changing experiences for the clients who shell out to experience them. The four women in Smith's latest mystery novel could certainly say that about their time at the Sanctuary, one such haven in the Catskills—but not in the typical way. For these characters, a get-away meant to foster tranquility instead proves deadly.

Katie Manning is a former child star who's seen better days, now living with her brother and his fiancée in New York City. In an effort to get to know her future sister-in-law, Katie agrees to a trip upstate and invites two of her college friends to join. Each of the four is avoiding something—one faces debilitating debt, another struggles with depression—and eager to find some inner peace.

At first, all seems agreeable, if a little outside their comfort zones: they have to surrender their cell phones and keep to a vegan diet. But then the group gets to know "Dr. Dave"—a self-care guru and YouTube personality who runs the program with his wife. Dave probes their anxieties in unsettling ways in the name of personal transformation, forcing Katie to revisit painful memories. When a guest goes missing, any vestige of serenity quickly gives way to violence and confusion. The four women must reckon with decisions they've made in the past as they fight to preserve their safety and their sanity.

The Escape Room

Megan Goldin

What's worse than being stuck in an elevator? For the characters in Goldin's addicting debut, it's the company within its four walls. Vincent, Jules, Sylvie and Sam are overworked, hypercompetitive colleagues at a financial firm, on their way to participate in an escape-room activity mandated by their human-resources department. But as they ride the elevator to their final destination, the lights turn off and the floor shakes. Suddenly, they're trapped.

The four investment bankers soon learn that the elevator itself is the escape room, and they must complete a puzzle to be freed. Confronted with challenging clues, they begin to tear into one another's psyches, admitting to the betrayals they've committed in the name of one-upping their peers. Hours turn into days, and as the stakes intensify, they're forced to come to terms with the dark choices they've made to get ahead—and whether they can make an even darker one in the name of survival.

REVIEW

Hannah Gadsby has more to say

By Trish Bendix

THERE IS NOTHING TRADITIONAL ABOUT HANNAH Gadsby. A self-described butch lesbian writer-performer with autism, she engaged and enraged audiences in 2018 with her show *Nanette,* which Netflix premiered as a comedy special. In the set, Gadsby announced she was quitting comedy mid-show, interrogating how the self-deprecating nature of the form had shaped her life. A moving meditation on trauma, gender and comedy as medium, *Nanette* made Gadsby—a longtime Australian comic with a style by turns dry and visceral—a star. She went on to win a Peabody and snag a book deal.

With celebrity, of course, came the "haters," who serve as one of the primary points of inspiration in Gadsby's (surprise!) new show, *Douglas.* Her detractors, she points out, were mostly men: the straight white men who have established how women are perceived and treated in society, or depicted in classic art, which Gadsby studied, or named women's body parts; she gets an inspired bit from a section of the recto-uterine area called the pouch of Douglas, named after the 17th to 18th century Scottish physician who "discovered" it. As she became more famous, men increasingly wanted to tell her that what she was doing wasn't really comedy, or that she was too fat—her body, she jokes, is often described as "Rubenesque"—or ugly, or gay to be onstage. *Nanette* was about how comedy made her feel bad, but that show's success only exacerbated the problem. In *Douglas,* she refines her scope onto the systems that enable her to feel bad in the first place.

After more than a decade on the comedy circuit, Gadsby "quit" comedy with her special Nanette; *it became a sensation*

***DOUGLAS,* WHICH HAD** a two-night stint at the Theatre at Ace Hotel in Los Angeles before heading to New York City's Daryl Roth Theatre for a five-week run starting July 23, feels like an extension of *Nanette.* Gadsby continues to pull back the curtain so audiences will see how cleverly she both executes and dismantles the stand-up set. (Netflix will air *Douglas* as a special in 2020.) The haters probably won't be won over by this one: she promises at the top of the show to take a hammer to the patriarchy, and she delivers. The comedy purists who debated what, exactly, she was doing onstage won't get any more clarity on whether she's performing stand-up, a monologue or a lecture—she riffs on all three in *Douglas.* (The lecture portion actually includes a projection screen, laser pointer and slides of Renaissance works of art.) She also tackles anti-vaxxers, disgraced comic Louis CK and the dog park.

Part of the show's conceit is that she explains exactly what to expect up front, using viewers' expectations—and the established formula of tension and release, which she outlined in *Nanette*—to play with form. She doesn't like surprises, she says; knowing to anticipate the pleasure of a joke only amplifies the satisfaction of hearing it. And it works: when she finally delivers the devastating Louis CK mic drop that she promised at the top of the show, it's an electric moment.

The runaway success of *Nanette* looms large over *Douglas.* Early on, she jokes that she might have "budgeted [her] trauma better" if she'd known that the show would be such a success. She works through more recent trauma here, drawing upon a relationship that ended shortly after she was diagnosed with autism. And she digs in even deeper to the way she's been treated by men, as a queer and masculine-of-center woman. In so doing, she makes a compelling case that we should consider the source of just about everything: how things are defined, and by whom. Even the show's title gets at this; Gadsby says, at the beginning, that it's named after her dog, but as she digs deeper into the philosophy of the naming of things, it becomes clear that the title works on multiple levels.

Like *Nanette, Douglas* is a challenging show, but even when Gadsby isn't funny, she's always clever. Case in point: the merch for sale at the show includes a POUCH OF DOUGLAS fanny pack. □

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Cole Stratton
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Do they make Brunchables or Dinnerables or Dessertables or Amuse Bouchables or Hors d'oeuvrables?

11:43 PM - 26 Jun 2015

BRUNCHABLES? WE GOT YOU. THE REST...WE'LL THINK ABOUT IT.

The mixed up fun of Lunchables now happens at breakfast with new Brunchables.

© 2019 Kraft Foods

Not your parents' pluots

By Mahita Gajanan

STRAWBERRIES THAT TASTE LIKE A GLASS OF rosé or grapes that evoke the sweetness of swirled cotton candy sound like the stuff of fantasy. But they're quite real. Horticulturists and fruit manufacturers have expanded the world of designer fruits in recent years, melding flavors and textures to create entirely new food experiences. This year, several grocery stores will see an influx of crossbred fruits like cotton-candy grapes, rosé strawberries and raspberries, and Cosmic Crisp apples—a new style of apple that comes from crossing Honeycrisp and Enterprise varietals—adding to established fruit hybrids like pluots (a cross between plums and apricots), tangelos (tangerines crossed with pomelos or grapefruits) and jelly-bean blueberries (a cross-pollination of Top Hat and Polaris blueberries, resulting in a sweet blueberry-jelly flavor).

These "designer" fruits can be sweeter, tarter or more complex in taste than the traditional varietals of berries, apples, plums and oranges widely beloved by U.S. consumers. Made by cross-breeding different species of plants, the hybrids represent a niche market, says Billy Roberts, a senior food-and-drink analyst at the market-research firm Mintel. Roberts estimates that hybrid fruits make up a single-digit percentage share of the total fresh-fruit market, which amounts to about $50 billion in the U.S. Yet novelty has a certain appeal, Roberts says. "Consumers are looking for a different fruit to try," he says, citing a 2019 Mintel survey of 2,000 people on their fruit-eating patterns. "More than half are looking to eat more varieties of fruit."

Brands like the Grapery, which distributes the cotton-candy grapes, and Driscoll's, which put out rosé berries this June, will face a challenge in convincing buyers that such products are a better purchase than their better-known counterparts. Parents, Roberts says, are among the biggest contingent of fresh-fruit buyers—and fruit that promises to taste like candy might throw them off. Then there are the designer fruits that are just that—made to show off their rarity. In Japan, luxury melons can go for tens of thousands of dollars at auction, and farmers put hours into cultivating the perfect jumbo-size strawberry. While these products rarely make it across the world to the U.S., they offer a glimpse into future fruit possibilities. ◻

12%

Increase in sugar content in cotton-candy grapes compared with regular varietals

4

Number of months of the year when rosé strawberries and raspberries are available in the U.S.

53%

Share of American consumers who want to try more fruit varieties

2.2 million

Number of boxes of Cosmic Crisp apples expected to ship in 2020, one year after they go on the market

$6,100

The cost of a Densuke watermelon sold at an auction in Japan in 2008

SOURCES: AP, SEATTLE BUSINESS, MINTEL, DRISCOLL'S, NPR

8 Questions

Quentin Tarantino The director on 1969 L.A., giving Sharon Tate a new life onscreen and why this film—or the next—may be his last

Your latest, *Once Upon a Time in . . . Hollywood*, like your 1997 movie *Jackie Brown*, is filled with affection for its characters and for Los Angeles. Do you see any connection between the two films? I do. In both cases, I was creating a Los Angeles of my memory. But also the fact that you're dealing with more melancholy people. The characters in both movies are dealing with their own mortality. Things didn't quite work out the way they wanted. And now there's more behind them than in front of them.

The film is set in 1969, a great time in Hollywood but also one marked by a truly grim event. Did you have any trepidation about using the Manson murders as a backdrop? I thought hard about it. To tell you the truth, I probably could have finished this movie five years ago. I questioned whether I wanted to let the Manson family into my head that much. I came close to abandoning this entire project because I didn't know if I wanted it in my life.

How did you cast Margot Robbie as Sharon Tate? I'd seen her in a couple of things and thought, She's really the only person. And out of the blue, I got a letter from her, saying, "I really like your work, and I'd love to work with you sometime." Literally I had just finished the script a week and a half earlier.

Most people know Tate only as a "Manson victim." Your film gives her new life onscreen, but there has been some criticism that Robbie doesn't speak enough. How many lines does a character need to haunt a movie? I thought there was something wonderful about getting to actually spend time with this person who lived, who has been defined by the tragedy of her death. Just the idea that she's driving around and doing errands, doing the kinds of things someone might do in Los Angeles. She's living her life, which she didn't get a chance to do.

"I DIDN'T GET MARRIED, I DIDN'T HAVE CHILDREN. I JUST SET UP THAT THIS IS MY TIME TO MAKE MOVIES"

Was it hard to capture the essence of a person who vanished in such a tragic way? In the movie, she's a real person, but she's also a presence. She's flesh and blood, but she's also an idea. A lot of those qualities are things I learned from talking to people who knew her.

Like whom? I talked to Warren Beatty. I talked to her sister Debra. I talked to about three actresses who were part of her group and knew her well. I met people who knew her and Roman [Polanski, Tate's husband] and [fellow victim] Jay Sebring. Everyone talks about her as this incredibly sweet presence, almost too good for this world.

Filmmaking and filmgoing have changed so much since you started. Do you ever worry that younger viewers won't get all your pop-culture references? On one hand, it bums me out that they don't know more than they do. On the other hand, they're quick—they're almost too quick to look up everything. Whenever I give my film writing to, like, a millennial, they can never get through it because they want to Google every name I mention.

You once said you'd stop at 10 films, and you've just made No. 9. But why think about retirement at all? I guess the idea is nothing lasts forever. I've been making movies one way for a while. I've built my whole life to do that. I didn't get married, I didn't have children. I just set up that this is my time to make movies. And now it's getting to be the end of it. I want to be able to do other things and not have to live on the line, like I have for the last 28 years. I don't feel bad about it. Most directors do not have a 30-year career. I've given what I've got to work at this level. I would rather choose my own ending.

—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

TONY BARSON—GETTY IMAGES

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